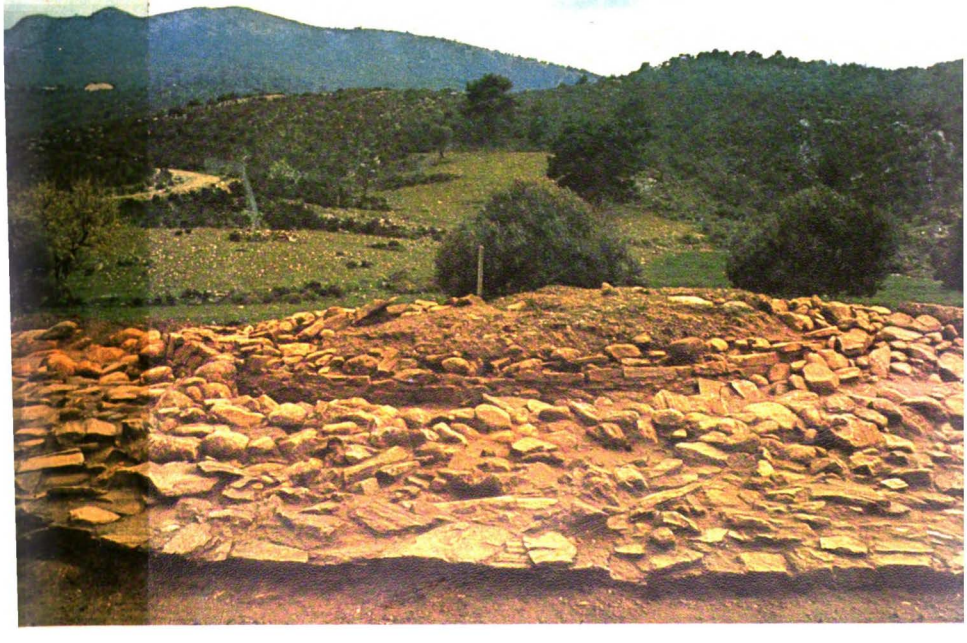
MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND SCIENCES
GENERAL DIRECTORATE OF ANTIQUITIES

ACTA

OF THE 2ND INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM ON AEGEAN PREHISTORY

The first arrival of Indo-European elements in Greece



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Marathon. Tumulus I with two stone circles.

OPENING SPEECH

by

Prof. GEORGES MYLONAS

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is with great pleasure that I declare the opening of the Session of the Colloquium on Prehistoric, and I allow myself to add of «MYCENAEAN» as well, Studies under the roof of the Archaeological Society of Athens. Especially so because the Archaeological Society of Athens, through its Members, has become one of the founders of Prehistoric Archaeology in Greece.

With great pleasure I shall present to you the Deputy - Minister of the Presidence Cabinet, who will welcome the participants to the Colloquium:

DEPUTY MINISTER'S TO THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE (Prof. P. TSAKONAS) OPENING SPEECH.

Χαίρω διότι μοῦ δίδεται ἡ εὐκαιρία ὡς ἐκπρόσωπος τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Κυβερνήσεως ὅλους σᾶς πού εἶσθε οἱ κατ' ἐξοχήν πρεσβευταί τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Πνεύματος νά σᾶς ὑποδεχθῶ εἰς τό ἰοστεφές ἄστυ τῆς Παλλάδος πού ἀπό τοὺς ἀρχαιοτάτους χρόνους εἶχε ἕνα Δία Ξένιο, Ξένους ξένιζε. Καί νοιώθω βαθύτατα συγκεκινημένος διότι χάριν σὲ σᾶς, στὶς ἀρχαιολογικές σας ἔρευνες καὶ στὶς ἀρχαιολογικὲς ἀποστολές, μᾶς βοηθᾶτε νὰ ξανακερδίσουμε τὴν αὐτογνωσίαν μας καὶ Ἑλληνικότητά μας, γιατὶ χάρις καὶ σὲ σᾶς ἐδιδάχθημεν ὅτι ἡ μοῖρα τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Πνεύματος εἶναι ταὐτόσημη πρὸς τὴν μοῖραν καὶ τὴν ἔννοιαν τῆς Ἐλευθερίας.

Τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πνεῦμα ἀπὸ τοὺς ἀρχαιοτατους χρόνους εἶχε τὴν δυνατότητα νὰ παίρνη τὸν ἀργὸ λίθο καὶ νὰ τὸν κάνη ἄνθρωπο. Ἀντιθέτως πρὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς Ἀσίας ποὖπερνε τὸν ἄνθρωπο καὶ τὸν ἔκανε ἀργὸ λίθο.

Αὐτὴν τὴν ὑψηλὴν καὶ τραγικὴν διακονίαν στὴν ἠθικὴν εὐγένιαν τῆς Ἐλευθερίας ἀναλάβατε σεῖς νὰ συνεχίσετε γι' αὐτὸ ἀκριβῶς καὶ σᾶς θεωροῦμε, κατὰ τὴν ἔξοχη ρύση τοῦ Ἰσοκράτους, Ἕλληνας, ἐφ' ὅσον τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Παιδείας μετέχετε.

Ὡς ἀποδήμους ἀδελφοὺς τῆς εὐγενίας, τῆς ἐλευθερίας, στὴν ἠθικὰ ὡραιότερη μορφή της, σᾶς ὑποδέχομαι εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῆς Παλλάδος ποὺ ὑπῆρξε κάποτε ἡ πνευματικὴ πρωτεύουσα τοῦ πολιτισμένου κόσμου.

Prof. G. MYLONAS

To present Prof. SP. MARINATOS

As you know, Ladies and Gentlemen, this Colloquium is convened in Athens because of the vision, the enthusiasm and the indefatigable efforts of the President of the Archaeological Society of Athens, the Inspector General of the Antiquities of Greece and the happy explorer of the Island of Thera, of our collaborator Prof. Spiridon Marinatos whom I take great pleasure to present to you for a few words of greeting and welcome!

Prof. SPYRIDON MARINATOS' ADDRESS

Ladies and gentlemen,

To welcome you simply as guests of our Congress would be a usual formality. Happily this hour has a much more profound meaning. I wish to express to you my most profound feelings of gratitude and my most heartfelt thanks and good wishes for your coming to this Country.

Indeed this is an exciting moment for me, for all Greeks present in this room and, more generally, for all inhabitants of this Country. It was most kind of you to come here from almost every intellectual centre on Earth; and you have come with a special objective: the objective to discuss and to promote the question of the first coming of the Greeks on Greek soil; of the first appearance of the Greek language.

This is the purpose of our present colloquium. Top scholars will have to discuss further, whether or not there has been a protohellenic language; whether or not there are any Hellenic linguistic elements in what we call today the Prehellenic substratum of language or languages throughout the Aegean.

Philologists, Historians and Archaeologists, we will have to discuss further, what may be Greek in Minoan and in Mycenaean civilization and vice-versa, what is it in Greek civilization, which in reality has been incorporated, but has its roots in that great «Greece before Greece», as the Minoan-Mycenaean civilization has been so aptly called. This is a great question and it may be the subject of one of our future prehistoric colloquia. Indeed, only now are we beginning to feel, that many more elements than we had hitherto supposed are Minoan and Mycenaean and have thus influenced our Western civilization. A few more words still seem necessary in order to stress the fact of how precious are such gatherings as our own, where scholars of different disciplines can meet and exchange opinions. Specialization is now so far advanced in our disciplines, that nobody can any longer possess more than one or two rooms within the spacious Palace which is rendered by the German expression Altertumswissenschaft; and, last but not least, we must greet our present colloquium in the name of Humanities. We are all witnesses of the fact that at the moment, unfortunately, Humanities are in retreat everywhere in the World.

This is on one side the tendency of almost all governments at this moment; but, on the other side, it is a universal change of mentality, and it is this which is most alarming. The general public cannot understand profound changes. But most of us here believe that a humanistic education is needed today more than ever. The inconceivable advances in technology and the technical achievements have literally dazzled the human mind; but this is exactly the reason why the human mind must be kept, at any price, within an atmosphere sweetened by the incence of humanities. Exactly ten days ago we celebrated the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of our War of Independence at the Academy of Athens. I did not fail to mention the terrific achievements of Technology, but I stressed the fact, that the conquest of the Moon brought us only stones and dust. But the noble Past, that was Rome and Greece and ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ, ΕΛΛΑΣ, ΑΘΗΝΑΙ, gave Mankind only spirit and humanism.

Ladies and Gentlemen, this is why I greet your presence here with profound emotion. Greece, always in conformity with the spirit of Humanities, offers her soil to the free, noble, scientific competition. I feel in my heart, that Archaeology, perhaps more than any other discipline, predisposes the minds to a world collaboration, to a world agreement. We have here a lot of Foreign archaeological Schools and Institutes and we will house more, if necessary. Excavation and Research is free throughout the Country on the basis of free collaboration, free common help in the name of Science. I am proud and I feel I

have the duty to say, that all those ideas I have expressed above are accepted and are helped in this country, where high education, Institutes, Scholarships, excavations and every effort is helpfully assisted, today more than ever before, in order to keep the humanistic education alive.

I have to thank all of you, dear colleagues and friends, for your presence among us. Quite especially I have to thank the Prehistoric Society and the Organization for Mycenaean Studies of England, because they consented and collaborated for extending the prehistoric colloquia into an international scheme. It is to hope that every year we will enjoy a new convocation in a new friendly home.

Concluding, I have pleasure in announcing to you, that our last meeting next Saturday, will be an innovation, because we will meet and discuss directly on the site of the ruins, in Marathon. Next Friday we will realize our excursion to Thera. I must thank publicly my precious friend, the shipowner Mr. K. Efthymiadis who, for the second time, has put at our disposal the splendid vessel «Knossos» for this purpose. I have only to add that in case the sea is rough, there will be no possibility for landing and visiting the digs; but even so, we will enjoy the Island, one of the great curiosities in the World, and we will have the opportunity to study the details of the huge eruption, which swallowed more than half the island and changed the course of civilization.

Finally next Thursday, we will have the afternoon free. We will have, thus, the opportunity to visit, in the National Museum an exhibition of Theran - Antiquities, which we have organized on behalf of the Colloquium.

You will have thus the opportunity to see the amazing frescoes, which give rise to a truly new Era in Archaeology.

Dear friends, welcome again to our Country.

Prof. DENIS PAGE'S SPEECH

I have been asked, and you have just been told by what process of election this took place, to say a brief word on behalf of the delegates to this Conference. That is, on behalf of all of us who have been invited to take part. I do this at the request of Prof. Marinatos and Prof. Mylonas. I have known them both for a long time and I will tell you one thing about them; that when they ask you to do this as you come into the room you can't say no to them. But there are far more important things to say about them and one of them is the extreme cordiality of the welcome which they give to you, when you come here, the abundance of their hospitality, the efficiency of their arrangements. We all have great cause to be grateful to them for the time and trouble they have taken. It is right that a word of thanks should be said on behalf of all of us to the Minister, to the Archaeological Society, to Prof. Marinatos, to Prof. Mylonas and to all who have helped and are helping in this. Our thanks, that is to say, for the extraordinarily heart-warming welcome which always awaits anybody when they come to Greece, and you feel it the more every time that you come here. We thank them too, for the very comfortable arrangements in which we now live and the opportunity to spend some days, doing what, for most of us, is the thing we probably like doing most in the world and that is thinking and talking about things Greek.

There are, in my submission, no better things. We go back to the beginning. We are asking who were the Greeks? Where did they come from? and when? When I was about 20 years of age I could have answered all those questions with absolute confidence, beyond the shadow of a possibility of doubt. I am now no longer 20 years of age, and I have many doubts about the answer to many things. In general, I find that the longer I live the less I actually know anything. The less certain I feel, the harder, in some ways, I am to convince. I know that age is supposed to make one inflexible and to harden the intellectual arteries. That is not my experience and it is not the experience of most of my friends nowadays. The longer one lives the more one may know and the less certain one feels of what it amounts to. We have all come here, I surmise, to learn and to «unlearn», but the chief purpose of my speaking at all, and the only thing now I have to say in conclusion is to repeat with the warmest personal affection, how greatful we all are, everyone of us, to all those who have made what is bound to be a happy as well as a fruitful visit, possible.

And, anyway, here we all are in Greece !

VOR - INDO - EUROPÄISCHE SUBSTRATE UND INDO - EUROPÄISCHE ZUWANDERUNGEN IN DER GRIECHISCH - ANATOLISCHEN FRÜHZEIT

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Was gehört in der ägäischen Frühzeit dem vor-indo-europäischen Substrat an, was aber hängt bereits mit indo-europäischen Zuwanderungen zusammen? Das ist die große Frage und ich möchte das von Periode zu Periode untersuchen.

Zuerst haben wir es in Griechenland und in Anatolien mit einem Paläolithikum von Jägern und Fischern zu tun. Damals gab es aber noch keine Ortsnamen, da man noch keine festen Plätze anlegte, wohl aber vielleicht schon Berg-oder Flußnamen wie Olympos, Parnes, Parnassos, Pamisos u.s.w. Wanderungen von Jägerhorden wären damals in jeder Richtung möglich gewesen, ebenso sprachvermischungen. Das spärliche Material reicht aber nicht einmal für Vermutungen aus, doch scheinen mir die Namen von Bergen und Flüssen eher darauf hinzudeuten, daß damals in Griechenland und in Anatolien noch durchaus die nicht-indo-europäischen Substrate dominierten. Näheres über die erwähnten Namen aber erst in meinem zweiten Vortrag.

Die nächste Stufe erweist bereits einen primitiven Arckerbau und eine erste dauernde Seßhaftigkeit. Wir können nun von einem akeramischen Lithikum sprechen. Dabei wurde der Getreide-Anbau, wie schon Milojcic richtig vermutete, von Kleinasien her übernommen und gleiches mag auch von der Viehzucht gelten. Diese Frühzeit, in der sich die Erzeugung von Töpferware noch nicht recht durchzusetzen vermochte, reicht von Tschatalhüjük in Südostanatolien bis Thessalien (Argissa und andere Plätze) und Kreta (Knossos, unterste Stufe). Neben dem Ackerbau hat damals die Jagd noch eine beträchtliche Rolle gespielt, an Flüssen auch die Fischerei. Vermutlich werden sich damals die Jäger verschiedentlich angesiedelt haben. Daneben ist es wahrscheinlich, daß schon in dieser Zeit Einwanderer aus Anatolien nach Griechenland kamen, die daselbst die Kenntnis des Ackerbaus verbreiteten. Jedenfalls entstanden nun an günstigen Plätzen die ersten Dauersiedlungen und damit auch die ersten und ältesten Ortsnamen. Vielleicht sind solche Pioniere einer dauernden Besiedlung schon jetz bis in den Donau-Bereich vorgedrungen. Man muß bedenken, daß damals die Länder ja für Wanderungen noch äußerst «durchlässig» waren, da es bis dahin ja nur herumschweifende Jäger gegeben hatte. Sehr wichtig ist, daß in den Plätzen die wir von dieser akeramischen Ära her kennen, also in Tschatalhüjük, Argissa, Sesklo u.s., verschiedentlich eine Siedlungskontinuität bis ins jüngere Neolithikum, ja bis in die Bronzezeit u.s. w. reichte. Nur in Knossos scheint mir, wenigstens am Platz der englischen Grabungen im Zentralhof, ein gewisser Siedlunghiatus vorzuliegen.

Aus diesem akeramischen Lithikum leitet — vom eben erwähnten Knossos abgesehen — ein durchaus gleitender Übergang in das keramische Frühneolithikum und Mittelneolithikum hinüber, das wir auf dem griechischen Festland am besten als «Sesklo-Kultur» bezeichnen. Dabei befinden wir uns nun im Optimum derjenigen Kulturströmung, die ich als die «Vorderasiatische Kulturtrift» bezeichne. Diese ging von Vorderasien, d. h. von Nordmesopotamien, Nordsyrien, besonders aber von Ost-und Mittelanatolien aus und brachte östliches Kulturgut nach dem Bereich der Agäis, nach der Balkanhalbinsel, Ungarn und Rumänien (mit den Kulturen von Strarcevo und Körösch-Cris), weiter auch in den adriatischen Bereich einschließlich der Ostküste Italiens. Hierzu

zeige ich einige Vergleichsbilder weise aber darauf hin, daß nach dem äußersten Westen und Nordwesten das östliche Kulturgut immer spärlicher sich durchzusetzen vermochte. Dennoch finden wir bis in den Donaubereich noch die Doppelaxt und die Göttin mit erhobenen Händen. An der Ostseite Italiens können wir allenthalbe Funde von frühneolithischen Kumpfen mit Ringfuß und z.T. mit Cardium-Verzierung festtellen, weiter in Apulien auch Einflüsse bemalter mittelneolithischer Sesklo - Muster.

Niederlassungen wurden vor allem im Bereich fruchtbaren Ackerlandes gegründet, so in Hacilar, weiter in Thessalien, im Spercheios-Tal (Lianokladi), in der Talebene des Kephisos (Chäroneia u.s. w.), weiter im Norden zu Nea Nikomedeia, zu Starcevo, Kremokovci, Banjata, Karanovo, und im ältesten Vinca. Im ägaischen Bereich wußte man auch gute Hafenplätze zu schätzen, so in der Gegend von Volo, zu Nea Makri in Attica, zu Nauplion und auch im Bereich von Krioneri. Dagegen wurden die wenig fruchtbaren Kykladen kaum besidelt. Sicher waren aber die fruchtbaren Flußebenen von Westanatolien reich besidelt, Nur ist hier alles durch die Aufhöhung des Grundwasserspiegels wie auch des Bodens selbst für uns unzugänglich geworden.

Nach dem Westen wurden von Kleinasien aus nicht so sehr Fertigfabrikate exportiert, sondern die jeweiligen Techniken der Herstellung. Daraus können wir schließen, daß damals auch ein beträchtlicher Strom von Auswanderern nach Griechenland gelangt ist, ja wahrscheinlich auch nach dem Balkan, nach dem Donaubereich und nach der Adria. Zumeist waren es Bauern, die nach gutem Land suchten. Besonders im Frühneolithikum dürfte diese Auswanderung sehr weit ausgegriffen haben. Nach dem Westen wurde die Technik der Idolplastik, der Herstellung von Steingefäßen, der Keramik, der Gefäßbemalung, der Knopfsiegel und sicher auch die Webekunst vermittelt. Nur die in Ostkleinasien so hoch entwickelte Wandmalerei treffen wir in Griechenland - wenigstens vorderhand - noch nicht. Allerdings zeigt die bemalte Sesklo-Keramik in gleicher Weise wie die Wandmalerei von Tschatalhüjük die Nachahmung von Teppich, - d. h. Kelim-Mustern, die ihrerseits in Ostkleinasien wieder mit analogen Wandbemalungen zusammengingen.

Zu allen diesen Befunden des Frühen und Mittleren Neolithikums paßt nun ausgezeichnet der Befund der alten Ortsnamen, Kulturwörter und auch der alten Suffixe auf -nt-, -s(s)- u.s.w., die wir ja in der gleichen Verbreitung antreffen. Hierüber werde ich aber erst in meinem zweiten Vortrag sprechen. Von Zuwanderungen aus dem Norden, die wir etwa irgendwelchen Indo-Europäern zuschreiben könnten, ist in diesen Zeiten archäologisch nichts zu bemerken. Ich möchte daher als recht wahrscheinlich ansehen, daß die archäologischen Funde vom akeramischen Neolithikum über das Frühe bis einschließlich das Mittlere Neolithikum zugleich auch die Periode repräsentieren, in der Knossos, Mykenai, Korinth, u.s.w. ihre Namen erhalten haben, zumal hier ja überrall als ältestes ja neolithische Besiedlungen festgestellt werden konnten. Auch die Berg - und Flußnamen werden, soweit sie nicht schon dem Paläolithikum angehören, wenigstens in dieser Zeit ihre Bezeichnungen erhalten haben. Dabei müssen wir immer beachten, daß manche sprachlichen Zusammenhänge des Neolithikums wohl bereits auf die palāolithische Jägerzeit zurückgingen. Nur hat es — und das steht außer Zweifel — im Neolithikum eben doch noch eine starke Bevölkerungsbewegung non Ostanatolien nach den Westen gegeben. Kontakte mit dem Indo-Europäischen lassen sich vom archäologischen Standpunkt aus aber nicht nachweisen. Wenn sie bestanden haben, so könnte es sich eher um eine Urverwandtschaft des ägäischen Substrates oder wenigstens einer hier vorhandenen Substratkomponente mit dem Ur-Indo-Europäischen handeln als um eine früheste Zuwanderung.

Nach dem Ende des Mittleren Neolithikums kam es im nun folgenden Spätneolithikum zu bedeutsamen Veränderungen und Wandlungen. Hacilar fiel damals Katastrophen

zum Opfer und wurde schließlich nicht mehr aufgebaut. Dagegen erstanden — wohl erst einige Zeit später—Beycesultan und Kumtepe. Auch nahm die Keramik einen ganz anderen Charakter an und änderte sich schienbar manches in der Bauweise. In Thessalien treten gleichfalls ganz andere Gattungen auf und wandelten sich die keramischen Techniken. Im Lauf des Spätneolithikums scheint sich in Thessalien auch die Bauweise geändert zu haben, denn es treten — wir wissen nicht genau, zu welchem Zeitpunkt — Gruben und immer wieder Gruben im Sieldlungsbereich auf, die die Rolle von Kellern gespielt zu haben scheinen, und die die Siedlungsschichten in einer für den Ausgräber höchst peinlichen Weise durcheinanderwarfen und gleichsam durchlöcherten. Auch scheinen die Bauten nun weniger stabil gewesen zu sein, als in der Sesklo-Zeit.

Als Keramik steht nun die sogenannte schwarzpolierte Ware im Vordergrund, verziert z.T. mit einpolierten Mustern oder mit zarter Weißmalerei. Diese Keramik ahmt sichtlich bereits Metallgefäße und Metallverzierungen in Treibarbeit nach.

Dabei ließen sich die Änderungen in der Keramik durch die damaligen Fortschritte in der Metallurgie d.h. durch einem «Metallurgischen Schock», noch einigermaßen erklären. Aber die Veränderungen in der Bauweise geben doch zu denken und lassen die Frage wenigstens offen, ob hier nicht fremde Zuwanderungen mit im Spiele gewesen sein könnten.

Dazu treten aber noch andere, allerdings räumlich beschränkte Störungen. So kamen einige aus den Donauländern und dem Balkan. Die Gumelniza-und Tell-Kultur erreichte Thrakien und die ägäische Küste, Graphitmalerei drang gelegentlich bis Makedonien und vereinzelt bis Thessalien vor. Kleinere Gruppen von Bandkeramikern scheinen sich in Thessalien zu Dimini und in einigen weiteren Bereichen festgesetzt zu haben, andere begründeten bald nachher auf den Kykladen die sogenannte «Syros-Kultur». Sie brachten Spiral- und Mäander-Rapporte und dann auch die Laufspirale nach der Ägäis.

Die neue Bauweise und auch die schwarzpolierte Keramik läßt sich nach Norden bis an die Donau (Vinca!) verfolgen, die schwarzpolierte Keramik aber nicht nur in Makedonien und Thrakien, sondern auch in ganz Hellas (Larisa, Orchomenos u.s.w.) nach den Kykladen, nach Kreta (Phaistos; Pyrgos,) nach Samos, nach der Troas (Kumtepe) nach Beycesultan und bis nach Mersin XII. Auch Büjük Güllitschek mit seiner an Donauländisches erinnernden Ritzverzierung dürfte dazugehören.

Im Ganzen gesehen, war diese Ära eine Zeit der Unruhe, erzeugt einerseits wohl durch die Fortschritte der Metallurgie, vielleicht aber doch auch herbeigeführt von fremden Eindringlingen, die vielleicht aus ganz verschiedenen Bereichen kamen. Eine Einwanderung von indo-europäischen Elementen, so vielleicht der Luvier, wäre vom archäologischen Standpunkt aus für Kleinasien durchaus möglich. Siedlungsgeschichtlich scheint aber nur in Anatolien eine Caesur erfolgt zu sein, da, wie erwähnt, Hacilar verschwindet, dafür aber Beycesultan und Kumtepe neu beginnen. Gegen Ende dieser Ära setzen auch Troia I und auf Lemnos Poliochni ein. In Griechenland bleiben dagegen die alten Siedlungskontinuitäten, so wie sie vom Frühneolithikum her bestanden, weiter. Einzelne Plätze wie Eutresis, setzten aber auch hier neu ein.

Am Ende der Ära der schwarzpolierten Keramik und damit zugleich am Ende des Spätneolithikums geht die Entwicklung in Griechenland wie in Anatolien in gleitenden Siedlungskontinuitäten überall in die beginnende Frühbronzezeit über. In F. Hell. I. trennt sich das griechische Festland vorübergehend allerdings von seinen Nachbarbereichen, da sich die Keramik mit himbeerroten Überzug nur hier, nicht aber auf den Inseln und in Anatolien durchsetzt. Mit F. Hell. II nähert sich Griechenland aber erneut wieder Kleinasien, wovon nun der Kupfer-Import, Bronze-Waffen und Geräte, vor allem aber auch alle Metallgefäßformen und — von diesen abgeleitet — alle neuen Formen auch für Tongefäße kommen. Nur die Sauciere bildet für den Umkreis der Ägäis einen Sonderty-

pus. F. Hell. II. zeigt aber auch zu Kreta enge Beziehungen (mottled ware, Stempelsiegel).

In dieser Frühbronzezeit kommt nun Anatolien zu seiner höchsten Blüte. Wir nennen Troia I und II mit seinen Befestigungen und Schatzfunden, Beycesultan mit seinem Megaron-Heiligtum, Alaca und Horoztepe mit ihren Fürstengräbern, Karahüjük mit seinen von der Ägäis her beeinflußten Stempelsiegeln, weiter Karatasch in Lykien, Ahlatlibel in Zentralanatolien und Tarsos.

In Blüte steht gleichzeitig das frühminoische Kreta mit Vasiliki und der von Peter Warren ausgegrabenen Sieldlung zu Myrtos. Dabei waren damals die kulturellen Beziehungen der Insel zu Anatolien ziemlich enge (was sich auch in einigen gemeinsamen Gefäßformen zeigt), doch gibt es keinerlei Spuren einer gewaltsamen Einwanderung von Kleinasien her.

In großartiger Weise standen auch die nun dicht besiedelten Kykladen in Blüte, die vom Erztransport, vom Metallurgengewerbe und vom Fernhandel profitierten. Aber auch das griechische Festland erfreute sich in F. Hell. II eines großen Wohlstandes. Hier fanden die Ausgräber Herrenhäuser zu Lerna und Akovitika, auch befestigte Hafenplätze zu Asketario, Plasi und Ägina. Die starke Verdichtung, welche die f. hell. Besiedlung jetzt erfuhr, könnte die Vermutung nahelegen, daß erneute Zuwanderungen von Kleinasien her erfolgten, doch zeigen die f. hell. II-Siedlungen keinerlei Spuren von gewaltsamen Veränderungen. Auf den Kykladen haben sich allerdings Metallurgen aus der Troas in der Tat vorübergehend zu Chalandriani in Syros niedergelassen und hierzu eine stark befestigte Siedlung angelegt. Andererseits scheinen von den Kykladen und überhaupt vom ägäischen Raum damals Schiffs-und Handels Unternehmungen bis ins Innere der Adria, vor allem aber auch nach Spanien und Portugal unternommen worden zu sein, wofür hier das Auftreten der ägäischen Befestigungsbauweise (z.T. mit Fischgrätenmuster!) wie auch das Auftreten ägäischer Altnamen (vgl. u.a. Tartessos) in diesen Küstenbereichen zu sprechen scheint.

Daß in Anatolien in der Frühbronzezeit zu den dortigen nicht-indo-europäischen Sprachen und Sprachmischungen bereits auch indo-europäische Zuwanderungen, so besonders etwa der Luvier, getreten seien, läßt sich m.E. archäologisch kaum erweisen, wäre aber, wie schon erwähnt, immerhin möglich. Falls es dann in dieser Frühbronzezeit von Anatolien aus etwa zu Zuwanderungen nach den Kykladen, nach Griechenland oder nach Kreta gekommen sein sollte (etwa durch anatolische Metallurgen?) könnte also auch einiges luvisches Sprachgut bei dieser Gelegenheit mit nach den Westen gelangt sein. Das dürfte aber kaum irgendwelche Berg- Fluß- oder Ortsnamen betroffen haben. denn es wäre durchaus unwahrscheinlich, wenn man mit der Benennung von Orten wie Athen, Korinth, Mykenai und Knossos, ebenso auch mit der Benennung der Hyazinthen, der Terebinthe, der Zypresse, auf die Luvier gewartet hätte, die zudem vom Innern Kleiasiens manche von diesen Pflanzen vielleicht gar nicht kannten. Auch müßten wir wenn die zugehörigen Suffixe erst durch die Luvier von Anatolien her nach Kreta und Griechenland gebracht worden wären doch erwarten, daß wir auch hier (wie in Anatolien) nun Namen auf -andos und -anda treffen würden, aber nicht solche auf -anthos.

Von außen her haben wir in dieser blühenden Welt der Frühbronzezeit von allem mit zweierlei Bedrohungen und Störungen zu rechnen: Die eine Bedrohung richtete sich vom Balkan her sowohl gegen Griechenland wie auch gegen Nordwestnatolien. Sie erfolgte durch indo-europäische Elemente, die wir im Sinne von Gimbutas und Hammond als Erben der eurasischen Kurgan-Kultur wie der östlichen Schnurkeramik und z.T. auch noch der Bewaffnung mit Streitäxten ansehen dürfen. Solche Schwärme haben wohl auch im Laufe von Troia II eine schwere Zerstörung dieser Stadt (Troia II g) herbeigeführt. Zu diesen indo-europäischen Völkerschaften, die über den Balkan nach Süden dräng-

ten, haben wir aber auch die Voreltern der späteren Griechen anzusehen. Diese übten von Albanien und Epirus, wohl aber auch von Makedonien aus, auf den benachbarten Bereich des Frühhelladikums einen immer schwereren Druck aus.

Andere Bedrohungen der Frühbronzezeitlichen Kulturwelt gingen von eurasischen Nordosten über Kaukasien in Richtung auf das östliche Anatolien aus. Hierfür sprechen die Beigaben der Fürstengräber von Alaca und Horoztepe. Wieder andere östliche Störungen dürften mit dem Auftreten der sogenannten Chirbet Kerak Ware in Ostanatolien zusammenhängen.

Damit sind wir an der Wende vom 3. zum 2. Jahrtausend angelangt und kommen zu den großen Katastrophen, die Griechenland am Ende von Frühlelladisch II und dann wieder am Ende von Frühhelladisch III erschütterten. Nun drangen in entscheidender Weise die Voreltern der Griechen über Albanien und Epiros wie vielleicht auch noch auf anderen mehr östlichen Wegen in Griechenland ein und gewannen das gesamte griechische Festland. Sie brachten — wie ich glaube, vom Donauland (Vinca!) — die Technik der durchschmauchten minyschen Keramik mit und vor allem auch den Typus des kurganartigen Gemeinschaftstumulus, wahrscheinlich aber auch das Pferd. Ein anderer Zweig brach damals erneut über Nordwestkleinasien herein, und ließ hier Troia VI als wichtiges Zentrum erstehen. Auch hier wurde nun die minysche Technik eingeführt und tritt auch das Pferd jetzt auf.

Im mittleren und östlichen Anatolien dürfte es nun gleichfalls zu Umwälzungen gekommen sein. Hier sind gegenwärtig aber so viele Grabungen im Gange, daß man sich mit dem Urteil darüber besser noch zurückhält. Immerhin könnten die Hethiter, ja vielleicht sogar die Luvier, auch erst damals, also zu einem sehr späten Zeitpunkt, nach Anatolien gelangt sein. Dabei wäre es aber ganz ausgeschlossen, daß sich Luvier oder Hethiter so spät auch noch im Ägäischen Raum hätten ausbreiten können, denn nun war die minoische Palaskultur auf Kreta und das griechische Element auf dem Festland bereits viel zu stark, und gefestigt gewesen, um solche Zuwanderungen zuzulassen.

Damit stehen wir am Ende unserer archäologischen Betrachtungen und erkennen daß der archäilogischen Befund immerhin mancherlei Umwälzungen für die älteren Zeiten vermuten läßt. Was uns aber am deutlichsten vor Augen tritt, ist folgendes:

1. Im Frühen und Mittleren Neolithikum haben wir es mit einem sehr kräftig ausgebildeten und kulturell hochstehenden Substratbestand vor allem in Anatolien, und, von dort beeinflußt, auch in Hellas zu tun.

2. Nachher gab es eine ganze Reihe von größeren und kleineren Störungen, die recht wohl mit Einwanderungen. u.a auch von indo-europäischen Elementen zu tun haben könnten.

3. Die weitaus stärksten Einwanderungswellen kamen aber erst zwischen 2300 und 1900 v. Chr. durch die Zuwanderung der Griechen, die damals Hellas eroberten, wobei die im Gebirge zurückbleibenden Dorier und Nordwestgriechen erst um 1100 v. Chr. nachstießen. Darum sind wohl die anderen indo-europäischen Zuwanderer, mit den von ihnen begründeten Völkerschaften, so die Luvier und Hethiter, die Palaer, Lykier und Phryger in Kleinasien wie auch die Thraker und Illyrier auf dem Balkan schon längst vergangen. Nur die Griechen haben sich lebendig und kräftig erhalten durch alle Geschichte hindurch bis auf den heutigen Tag.

THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE FOR CULTURE CONTACT IN THE EARLY AEGEAN.

by

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1. ANTHROPOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

(a) The distinction made by C.H. Hawes (BSA 16, 1909-10, 258-80) between the populations of E. and W. Crete was confirmed by D.F. Roberts (Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst. 84, 1954, 145-57) through re-examination of his evidence.

(b) In the West of the Island, and particularly in the South-West, the inhabitants are taller, have broader heads (more brachycephalic) and longer faces and noses.

(c) This distinct stock of SW Crete (the Sphakiots) was recognized by Hawes as Dorian, and compared by him with the Tsakonians who inhabit the eastern slopes of Mount Parnon in Laconia, and with the Albanians.

(d) These Dorian peoples entered Crete (according to Hawes) on the break-up of the Minoan civilization. Prior to that, the basic stock of Crete was made up of two «Mediterranean» strains, one of short stature (the Neolithic population), the other taller (immigrant, so Hawes supposed, from Egypt and Libya). The fusion of these two stocks produced the «Minoan» population.

(e) There is evidence of an increase in the brachycephalic (broad-headed) element in the Cretan population from 1500 B.C. onwards. By LM times, Hawes speaks in terms of «intrusions» of brachycephalic folk, and speculates about their identity with the Achaeans.

(f) There is general evidence for the gradual movement of broad-headed peoples into SE Europe from the Danube area throughout Neolithic and Bronze Age times.

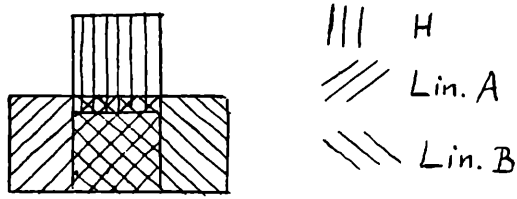
2. EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

(a) K. Branigan has argued convincingly that Cretan writing is a Cretan phenomenon, and was invented to meet particular social requirements in pre-Palatial times. P. Warren has illustrated this indigenous evolution from the study of early seals. This is probably a more rewarding approach to the study than a search, of the kind conducted by Evans, for prototypes of particular Cretan signs among the «Early Mediterranean» petroglyphs of Libya and elsewhere.

(b) However, if comparisons are to be sought, it now seems that they can be found more reasonably in Syria than in Egypt. Evans knew the Egyptian analogies with the Minoan Signary from Griffith and Sundwall. It was only later that Falkenstein's Uruk archives demonstrated much more convincing comparisons, not only in the shape of the signs, but also in the material and format of the clay tablets and the structure and arrangement of the script.

(c) It seems that an early system of simple tabular accounting was employed not only in Mesopotamia and Elam, but also in Eastern Persia (Tepe Yahya), and in Syria (the Aleppo Cylinder).

(d) Within Crete, this system of epigraphy became subdivided into various styles, both geographically and culturally. The different signaries overlapped, but were never coincident:

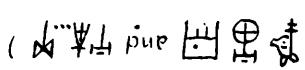


(e) It now seems impossible to arrange these writing systems in a simple evolutionary form. Hieroglyphic seals were used undoubtedly for their own purpose at the same time as Linear writing.

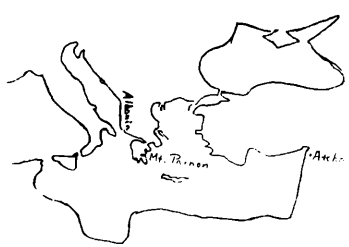
(f) In the particular case of Linear A and B, some signs common in one are absent or rare in the other (e.g. Lin. B), while some very rare signs turn up in both (e.g.)

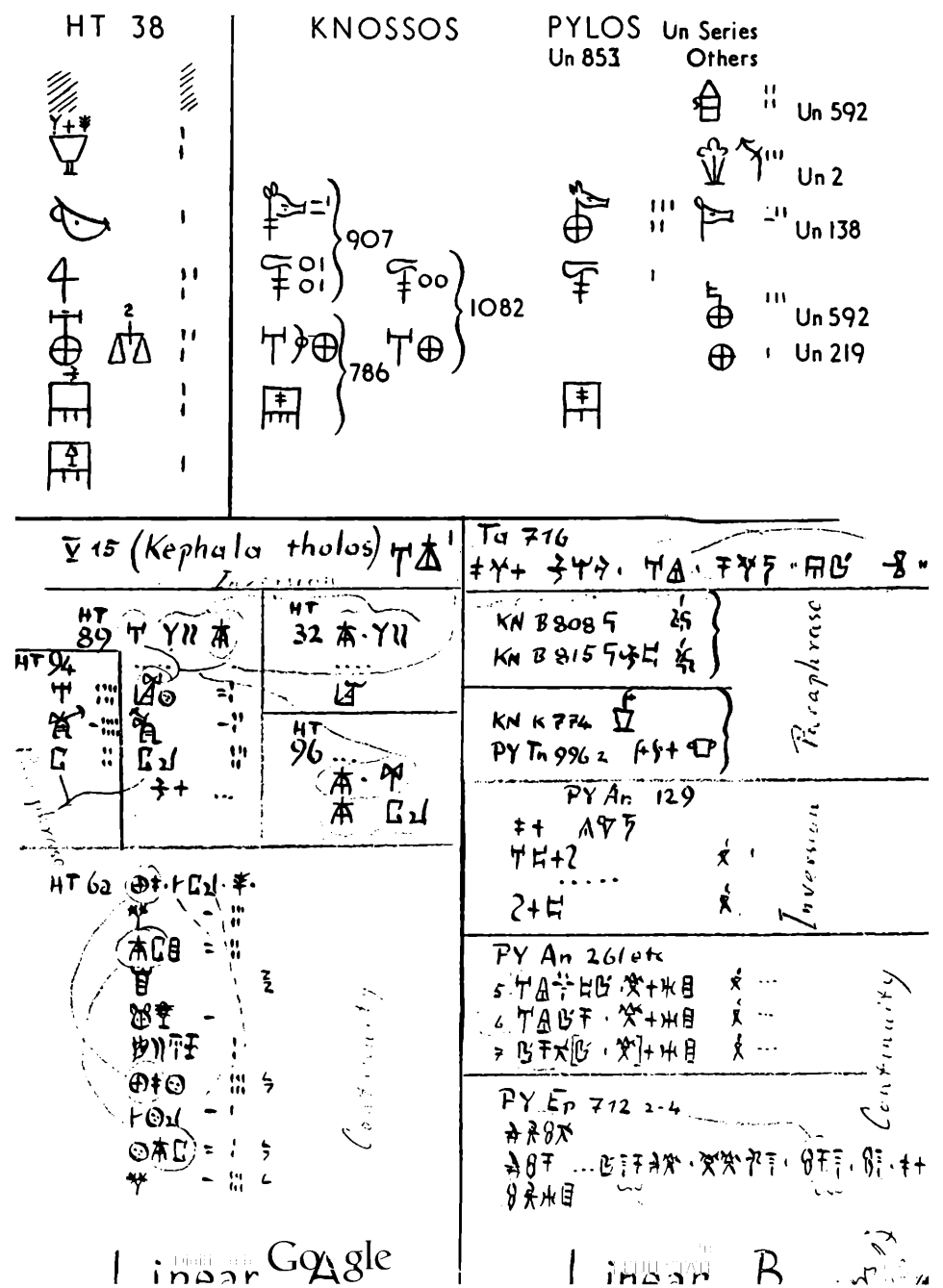
(g) It is still debatable (i) to what extent any of the Cretan scripts had evolved phonetically (ii) as Levin, Kirk and others have said, what proportion of Lin. B was intended to convey Greek, and what proportion another language or languages.

(h) With analytical study, it is becoming increasingly clear that Lin. A and Lin. B have much in common in their structures, and also in the associations within them of particular signs and sign-groups (e.g. the attached illustration of contexts of



(i) As Wooley demonstrated at Atchana, there is evidence of early and continuing cultural contact between North Syria and Crete in the second millennium B.C. — in the fields of architecture and ceramics, as well as writing. There is evidence of strong continuity of tradition in epigraphy in Minoan Crete; and this accords with the evidence of anthropology that no major change of population occurred until very Late Minoan times.




HT 38
KNOSSOS
PYLOS Un Series
Un 853
Others
Un 592
Un 2
Un 138
Un 592
Un 219
907
1082
786
V 15 (Kephala tholos)
Inversion
HT 89
HT 32
HT 94
HT 96
HT 6a
Continuity
Ta 716
KN B 808
KN B 815
KN K 774
PY Tn 996
Paraphrase
PY An 129
Inversion
PY An 261 etc
PY Ep 712 2-4
Continuity
Linear A
Linear B

GREEK DIALECTOLOGY AND GREEK PREHISTORY

by

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My paper is not stricly speaking devoted to Greek prehistory or to the arrival of the Greeks, though it does bear on these topics. Rather I shall be concerned with the development of the Greek dialects in the light of recent researches and the historical conclusions to be derived from these researches. In another publication «The Coming of the Greeks» Indo-European and Indo-Europeans 89-111 [University of Pennsylvania, 1970] I attempted to show that we have no linguistic evidence for Greek speech in any part of Greece prior to 1600 B.C. and the shaft graves of grave circle A at Mycecenae, though some of my conclusions must be revised in the light of more recent discoveries. I do not intend to go into this matter further here, save to say that in order for the presence of Greek speech and hence a terminus post quem to be proved, we must marry archaelogy and philology, a match that is yet to be made. That is, we must attach Greek names to bronze age things.

Archaeologists, for a variety of reasons, generally place the arrival of Indo-European speech in Greece somewhere between 2500 and 1900 B.C., to the latter stages, that is, of the Early Helladic period and to the earlier stages of the Middle Helladic period; and there is no doubt that vast political convulsions and cultural advances occured during those years. Further it may be true, and I believe that it is true, that the inhabitants of Lerna IV are the racial and cultural ancestors of the Classical Greeks, and that their descendants are responsible for Mycenaean palaces, shaft graves, tholos tombs, together with much of their contents. They, together with the Indo-European speaking invaders of later times coalesced to create the flowering of classical Greek civilization. The question that we should ask therefore is: when did the inhabitants of Bronze Age Greece adopt Indo-European speech? In what follows I shall argue that the evidence of the Greek dialects and their distribution points to a rather late date, say around 1400, for the introduction of Greek speech to the Peloponnesus. This evidence consists in the facts that first, the Greek dialects are remarkably similar to each other, and second, that taken as a whole they are relatively little changed from proto-Greek.

Scholars interested in the history and interrelationships of the Greek dialects are confronted with two facts of cardinal importance. The first fact is that Greek was one language, one linguistic system, intelligible to all who called themselves Ἕλληνες, regardless of how it was pronounced in the mouths of Athenians, Laconians, Thessalians or Cretans. The second fact is that different varieties of Greek were spoken in various geographically circumscribable localities and not randomly in various areas or within the same area, either by one and the same person or by members of different strata of society. Each dialect differs sometimes only imperceptibly, from its neighbor, and it is from the various local forms of Greek that we derive our first impressions concerning the interrelationship of the dialects. We have no reason to suppose that earlier stages of the language differed from later in this regard: dialectal differences probably were always local and slight.

From the first of these facts we formulate our first hypothesis: all attested forms of Greek evolve from an earlier, non-attested form of Greek which we are in the habit of labeling proto-Greek. This language may or may not have been dialectally uniform, but

we must assume by and large that whatever dialectal variations were to be found within it arose within it, that is, in Greece, and were not imported into Greece by speakers of a late form of Proto-Indo-European. We must be very clear about this, and not imagine, as older generations of scholars were sometimes tempted to do, a series of Indo-European incursions into Greece: the Greek dialects arose on the soil of Greece as Chadwick has convincinly pointed out.

The second fact causes us to hypothesize, and this is only an hypothesis, that the various Greek dialects developed, not only in Greece, but indeed more or less on the very spot in which they were spoken in classical times. That is to say, an essentially uniform Proto-Greek developed local variants, some of which extended their influence to neighboring areas, local variants which in time resulted in the attested dialectal diversity. We shall of course have to make several obvious exceptions to this hypothesis: Dorian speech is clearly a relatively recent event in the Peloponnesus, and the Dorians must be removed to the north of the Gulf of Corinth during the early stages of dialectal development; Cypriotes may have developed certain linguistic traits while still resident on the mainland; Lesbians may owe certain features characteristic of their dialect to their residence in northeastern Greece; and Ionians may not have developed all their linguistic traits in the Cyclades and on the coast of Asia Minor, To be on the safe side, then, it is best to rephrase our original hypothesis, and to assume that the geographical relations of the Greek dialects to each other were much the same in pre-Mycenaean antiquity as as they were in classical times, whether or not the dialects at that time were spoken in their classical locations.

The usual question one asks in Greek dialectology is: how did Greek split into the attested dialects, and which dialects are more closely related to one another? In other words, how do we go about constructing a family tree which would reveal that the originally iniform language split first into dialects A and B, and then that A and B in turn split into C and D and E and F respectively? The usual method of answering these questions is to make a list of features and see which dialects share which features: those dialects with the most features in common will be more closely related.This method encounters grave difficulties. Lesbian, an Aeolic dialect, shares with Attic-Ionic and Arcado-Cypriote the the assibilation of final *- t i in Lesbian φέροισι, Ionic φέρουσι both from earlier *pher o n t i, but it shares with Boeotian and Thessalian the labialization of labio-velar *k w before /e/ as in πέμπε from *penkwe, which corresponds to πέντε of other dialects. With which dialect is Lesbian more closely related? Or again, Cypriote, an Arcado-Cypriote dialect, though ordinarily showing the same changes as Arcadian, shares with the Aeolic dialects the modal particle κε instead of the ἄν of Arcadian. Does Cypriote belong with Arcadian or with Aeolic? The answer of course is that in this one feature Cypriote belongs with Aeolic, and similarly that Lesbian is closer to Attic-Ionic than to Thessalian and Boeotian in the assibilation of final *t i , but to Aeolic and Cypriote in the modal particle k e. The traditional method of looking at dialectal relations, though, does not allow for similarity in one feature only, but demands that dialects split irrevocably. If one dialect, say Lesbian, shows non-Aeolic characteristics, then one is forced to assume influence of neighboring dialects, as Risch for instance does when he attributes Lesbian passage of -t i to -s i to Ionian influence.

Clearly such an approach is simplistic and omits a number of crucial considerations. Language is dynamic, continuously changing, and hence static comparisons are worthless. We must not put all changes on one chronological plane, but must rather reckon with the possibility that the traditional four-fold articulation of Greek dialects is merely one stage — if indeed it is a stage at all — among many stages intermediate between proto-Greek and the Hellenistic koine. Secondly linguistic change is neither unidirectional

nor inevitable. There is no reason to predict that a given sound (or form) will change or that if it does that it will change in a given way. The corollary to this fact is that only linguistic innovations can — though they need not — be diagnostic for linguistic grouping. The retention of an archaism by two dialects indicates nothing about the relationship of those dialects. Thus the fact that both Lesbian and Cypriote have κε for the modal particle does not indicate any closer relationship of the two dialects, for κε is the proto-Greek form and is merely continued in both these dialects. In the fifties scholars such as Ernst Risch and Walter Porzig realized these facts and began to apply the techniques of contemporary dialect geography to the study of the ancient Greek dialects. Firm results have been obtained, but nonetheless the terms Aeolic, Arcado-Cypriote, etc., continue to appear in discussions of dialect geography, as well as the question (e.g), whether Mycenaean is closer to Aeolic or to Arcado-Cypriote.

In approaching the question of the relationship of the dialects I selected some fifty isoglosses generally agreed to be of relatively early date, and in any event at least earlier than circa 600. I assumed as a working hypothesis that linguistic changes originate in a small area and spread to other areas, either finally embracing the entire speech community or ceasing to spread because blocked by some feature, linguistic or geographical. My task with each of these isoglosses chosen was first to determine what the change was i.e., what was the innovation; and then what areas of Greece the change affected. I then inferred that the sharing by two or more dialects of an innovating feature signifies that at one time those dialects were in contact. It turns out, and this fact has been recognized for some time, that there are two major periods of linguistic innovation in Greece: that which preceded the Dorian presence in the Peloponnesus; and that which requires Dorian presence there. The first period is characterized by innovations which affected various areas of the non-Dorian world (Attic-Ionic, Arcado-Cypriote, Thessalian, Lesbian, Boeotian), while the second embraces innovations which tended to affect only those areas of Greece which were culturally advanced during the archaic period, and tended not to reach Thessaly, Cyprus, Arcadia, and to a lesser extent, Boeotia, Lesbos and Crete. I label the innovations of this second category Mainstream Greek.

Mainstream Greek includes those dialects which, e.g., developed the thematic inflection of contract verbs as opposed to the athematic inflection of other dialects; discarded the preposition πεδά in favor of μετά; replaced the preposition ὄν with ἀνά; and more importantly, palatalized the labiovelar k^w before /e/ as well as before /i/ as in πέντε from *p e n k^we; these dialects also simplified double resonants with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel: they had εἰμί or ἠμί rather than ἐμμί for «I am». All Mainstream Greek changes must be removed from consideration before we can approach the question of the prehistoric dialectal situation. Otherwise the traditional confusion will result.

With Mainsteam Greek changes removed, we still find the Greek world split, but this time into South Greek and North Greek, not into Attic-Ionic, Arcado-Cypriote, etc., though there are differences discernible between Northwest, i.e., Doric dialects, and Northeast, i.e., Aeolic dialects. South Greek in all cases innovated, North Greek in all cases retained the older form, and thus we find South Greek characterized by ἱερός «holy» instead of ἱαρός; -s i for -t i in final position in verb forms and elsewhere; -αι in the athematic infinitive and not -μεν. This innovating area embraced not only those dialects spoken later in Arcadia, Attica and Ionia, but also, though not in all features, the dialects later found in the islands of Cyprus and Lesbos. We may label this group simply South Greek, and notice particularly that Lesbian, traditionally labeled Aeolic, is one of its members, a fact pointed to but not established by Porzig and Risch . .

When we move still further back in time and undo all the South Greek changes, we

find ourselves faced with an obviously more primitive, but also more unified, form of Greek. There are, though, three discernible dialectal areas: the Northwest which continues proto-Greek intact; the Northeast which has πόδεσσι for p o t s i in the dative plural of consonant stems; and the South which lacks Northeast characteristics, but has replaced τοι with οἱ in the demonstrative pronoun, and ἔθεν with ἔθεαν in the third plural of τίθημι and in athematic verbs generally. Two facts, however, suggest that this three-fold division is illusory, and that it is to be replaced by a two-fold division. First, South Greek changes affected Northeast Greek as well: that is, not only did Northeast Greek have πόδεσσι, etc., it also had οἱ for τοι and ἔθεαν for ἔθεν. Thus Northeast Greek is simply South Greek plus Northeast features. And secondly, πόδεσσι and other Northeast characteristics appear also in Homer, from which fact we may conclude that Northeast Greek features were competing forms in all of proto-Greek: all speakers of proto-Greek had the option of saying either p o t s i or p o d e s s i, as well as h o i for t o i. Northeast Greek features were discarded later in most areas, but triumphed over the inherited forms in the dialects later to be labeled Thessalian, Boeotian and Lesbian, and only in those dialects. If it is in fact the case that Northeast Greek features were originally present everywhere, and I believe that it is, then we find only two dialectal entities within proto-Greek: conservative (Doric) Greek and innovating (non-Doric) Greek.

I quite realize that my presentation has been schematic and perhaps unclear. I hope you will bear with me a little longer while I provide an unsupported statement of when, where, and how, I feel dialectal diversity arose in Greece. First for the where. It is a highly reasonable assumption that, just as the Greek world expanded in classical times, so it expanded also in prehistoric times, and that it expanded from a very small area. I shall in fact assume that the Proto-Greek world was restricted to Thessaly and the North of Greece. I favor Thessaly, not only because of its inherent likelihood, but also for three more substantive reasons: first, many of the oldest Greek legends are set in Thessaly; second, we know from Herodotus and Thucydides that Doric and Boeotian at least, as well as Thessalian, were at one time resident in Thessaly; it seems likely that all other Greeks were there as well at an earlier date; third and less impressively, but still meaningful, the most conservative Greek dialects — Doric, Thessalian, Boeotian — were all once in Thessaly, and conservative or residual dialects are likely to be the residue left behind when more innovative dialects have moved on: the conservative dialects were not exposed to new linguistic influences. All these considerations point to Thessaly.

I feel that we need operate with only three stages in the prehistory of the Greek language. Stage one is dialectally undifferentiated proto-Greek spoken in Thessaly, at a date probably no later than 1400 B.C.:we have no way of knowing how much earlier it was spoken there. At first dialectally uniform, proto-Greek was split later into conservative and innovating Proto-Greek by the development in the south of οἱ for τοι in the pronoun, and the competing forms πόδεσσι for p o t s i and τεθναών for τεθναώς. The second stage, already reached by 1200 in most of its features, shows a clear-cut distinction between innovating south Greek (Attic, Ionic, Arcadian - sometimes Cypriote and Lesbian) and conservative north Greek (Doric, Thessalian, Boeotian): were it not for the inevitable terminoloical confusion, we could call this stage Mycenaean Greek, or perhaps Late Helladic Three Greek. This stage reflects the extension of Greek speech to the Peloponnese. The third stage is mainstream Greek, a period which finds Thessaly, Cyprus, Arcadia, and sometimes Boeotia, Lesbos and Crete linguistically isolated from the rest of Greece. The Dorians must have already settled the Peloponnesus and we may date the period roughly to 1100-600. At no point in the prehistory of the Greek dialects are we enabled better to understand developments by asking the traditional questions of whether (e.g.) Doric is closer to Attic-Ionic. or whether Mycenaean was an Arcado-Cypriote dialect..

And in no way are we enabled better to account for the attested facts by assuming that the language spoken at Lerna IV was Greek. Quite the opposite. All Greeks in classical times understood one another easily and well, something that should surprise after some 1500 years of more or less independent development. No less surprising is the fact that Greek changed so little from proto-Greek times until ca. 700. Neither fact need surprise if we postulate a time gap of 700 years rather than 1500, and assume the splitting up of proto-Greek ca, 1400 and not ca, 2200.

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Professor ANTHONIN BARTONEK, University of Brno, Czechoslovakia, having been unable to participate in person to the Colloquium, sent a short resumé of his communication by cable, photocopy of which we are happy to include here under.

ΓΡΑΦΗΜΑ ΟΠΕ ΑΕ ΤΗΛΕΓΡΑΦΗΜΑ

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The participants applauded warmly their absent colleague (edit. note).

LA GRÈCE ET LES INDO-EUROPÉENS

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Le terme indo-européen est une notion purement linguistique: il dénote une famille de langues d'origine commune. Il y a une trentaine d'années, la conception dominante était que l'indo-européen commun serait parlé dans un territoire restreint de l'Europe centrale et que les langues indo-européennes auraient commencé à se séparer depuis le début du IIe millénaire. Cette thèse est aujourd'hui complètement réfutée par des faits nouveaux. L'Indo-européen commun a existé à une époque beaucoup plus reculée. Quant à la patrie primitive des Indo-Européens, la supposition la plus vraisemblable est aujourd'hui la suivante: depuis le Néolithique ancien l'Europe centrale et orientale entre la Mer du Nord, la Mer Baltique et la Dvina au Nord, le Rhin et les Alpes à l'Ouest et le Don à l'Est a été habitée principalement par des tribus indo-européennes dont les langues ou les dialectes et les civilisations ont déjà commencé à se différencier[1]. Ce sont les préalables de cette communication.

I. LA THÉORIE PRÉ-INDO-EUROPÉENNE

En 1896, dans son livre Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache, l'éminent professeur viennois P. Kretschmer, en développant les conceptions de ses prédécesseurs H. Kiepert, W. Tomaschek, C. Pauli et d'autres a formulé définitivement la théorie d'après laquelle, avant les Grecs, la Grèce a été habitée par une population pré-indo-européenne, apparentée à celle de l'Asie Mineure, qui y a habité avant les Grecs, les Phrygiens et les Iraniens, soit avant le Ier millénaire. La thèse pré-indo-européenne était fondée sur des données de la toponymie, principalement les nombreux noms de lieux en νθ et σ(σ) (par exemple Κόρινθος, Πύρανθος, Ἀμνισός, Λάρισ(σ)α) et ceux d'Asie Mineure en νδ et σ(σ) (par exemple, Ολνόανδα, Ἀλικαρνασ(σ)ός, ainsi que sur des mots du lexique grec dont l'étymologie était inconnue ou peu claire (par exemple, ἀσάμινθος «bain», κυπάρισσος «cyprès» πύργος «tour» τερέβινθος «térébinthe»). On a essayé de relever encore d'autres suffixes pré-indo-européens, par exemple, -l-m-, -n-, -mn-, -r-, -rn-, mais ils n'ont jamais eu une force probante, car des formations semblables apparaissent partout dans les langues indo-européennes.

La thèse de Kretschmer fut corroborée par A. Fick qui dans ses ouvrages Vorgriechische Ortsnamen als Quelle für die Vorgeschichte Griechenlands (1905) et Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland. Weitere Forschungen zu den «Vorgriechischen Ortsnamen» (1909) a essayé de rassembler les noms de lieux «pré-indo-européens» de la Grèce ancienne.

Cette thèse fut appuyée aussi, par A. Meillet dans son article De quelques emprunts probables en grec et en latin (1980/9)[2] où il a essayé d'attribuer à cette langue pré-indo-européenne divers mots du léxique grec: ἔλαιον «huile», οἶνος «vin», ῥόδον «rose», σῦκον «figue» etc., Ce fut, sans doute, l'autorité de Meillet, qui, en acceptant cette thèse et en l'exposant dans de nombreuses publications[3], a beaucoup contribué à sa consolidation. Ensuite, beaucoup d'autres on contribué à sa corroboration[3].

La thèse pré-indo-européenne se basait, en outre, sur des données des auteurs anciens. Les historiens grecs anciens Hérodote, Thucydide, et d'autres nous informent que les Grecs

ne sont pas autochtones en terre égéenne, que ce sont les Pélasges qui furent la population primitive de la Grèce. En réalité, la tradition littéraire ancienne nous apprend bien qu' il y eut des tribus préhelléniques, mais ne nous dit pas si leur langue (ou leurs langues) avait été indo-européenne ou non. Néanmoins, cette population préhellénique était considérée comme pré-indo-européenne, car, à la fin du XIXe et au début du XXe siècle on tenait pour acquis le fait que les Grecs ont été les premiers Indo-Européens du bassin égéen.

Ainsi, cette thèse fut acceptée de tous: elle resta dominante pendant près d'un demi-siècle. Cette théorie ayant longtemps prédominé, la liste des appellatifs et noms propres «pré-indo-européens», au lieu d'être corrigée, a été augmentée à plusieurs reprises: on a declaré comme pré-indo-européens une quantité de termes et de noms de lieux ou de personnes dont l'origine grecque est parfaitement claire ou bien très vraisemblable. C'est l'origine de beaucoup de conceptions erronées. On en était tellement convaincu qu' on déclarait les textes syllabiques (linéaire B et A) du IIe millénaire à priori, sans pouvoir les lire, comme pré-indo-européens.

La théorie de Kretschmer de 1896 est la base de l'article de J. B. Haley et C. W. Blegen, The Coming of the Greeks (AJA, 32 1928, p. 1 et suiv.), qui a exercé une grande influence sur les conceptions des archéologues et des historiens, ainsi que des publications de F. Schachermeyr.[4]

La théorie pré-indo-européenne se basait sur cinq présomptions:

1°. Les Grecs sont les premiers Indo-Européens en Grèce et (à côté des Phrygiens) en Asie Mineure.

2°. Les Proto-Grecs, sont venus en Grèce pendant la première moitié du IIe millénaire partant de l'Europe centrale.

3°. Toutes les langues d'Asie Mineure avant l'invasion des Grecs et des Phrygiens (et plus tard des Iraniens) ont été d'origine non-indo-européenne. Le lydien, le carien et le lycien sont les restes de cette famille de langues non-indo-européennes.

4°. Les nombreux toponymes en νθ et σ(σ) de la Grèce, ainsi que ceux en nd et ss de l' Asie Mineure sont d'origine pré-indo-européenne.

5°. Les appellatifs et les noms propres grecs dont l'étymologie n'est pas tout à fait claire sont d'origine pré-indo-européenne.

II. CRITIQUE DE LA THÈSE PRÉ-INDO-EUROPÉENNE

Les deux premières présomptions de la théorie pré-indo-européenne se sont avérées fausses quand on a établi qu'au IIe millénaire en Asie Mineure il y a eu plusieurs langues indo-européennes (le hittite, le louvite et le hittite hiéroglyphique, le palaïte) très différentes du grec et du phrygien, et que le lydien, le lycien et le carien appartiennent au groupe hittite-louvite. D'autre part, la première présomption que les Grecs auraient été les premiers Indo-Européens dans l'Egéide a été réfutée par la preuve que les suffixes prétendus pré-indo-européens νθ et σ(σ) sont d'origine indo-européenne, mais préhellénique.[5]

La troisième présomption que les Proto -Grecs seraient venus en Grèce dans la première moitié du IIe millénaire n'était rien d'autre que la conséquence de la conception d' après laquelle la patrie primitive de l'indo-européen commun se trouverait en Europe centrale d'ou les tribus indo-européennes se seraient séparées au début du IIe millénaire. Cette thèse fut réfutée par les faits suivants: des textes hittites sont attestés depuis le début du IIe millénaire et des noms propres hittites-louvites apparaissent dans certains documents de l'Asie Antérieure de la fin du IIIe millénaire avant notre ère. Les Hittites-Louvites ont donc habité l'Asie Mineure au moins depuis la fin du IIIe millénaire,

d'après O. Carruba a u m o i n s depuis 2300.[6] D'autre part, le hittite, le mycénien et le proto-indien attestés au milieu du IIe millénaire sont totalement différents l'un de l' autre. Pour aboutir à cette différence ont été nécessaires plusieurs siècles et même quelques millénaires de développement indépendant des langues citées. Les civilisations des Hittites, des Mycéniens et des Proto-Indiens (du Rigveda) sont, elles aussi, totalement diverses.

L' indo-européen commun a donc existé à une époque beaucoup plus reculée et les langues indo-européennes se sont séparées beaucoup plus tôt.

Quant à la patrie primitive des Grecs, il n' y a aucune preuve qu' ils ont habité au Nord du Danube.[7] Les arguments sûrs quant à la patrie primitive des Grecs sont les suivants: dans le territoire de l'actuelle Grèce du Nord-Ouest, c'est à dire l' Epire, approx. jusqu'à Aulon au nord, la Thessalie occidentale et septentrionale et la Piérie, il manque les toponymes pré-helléniques typiques et tous les toponymes anciens principaux sont d' origine grecque archaïque: Ἤπειρος, Χαονία, Παραναία, Καμμανία, Θεσπρωτία, Ἀμβρακία, Κωκυτός, Ἀχέρων, Κεραυνία, Λακμός, Ὀγχεσμός, Βουθρωτός, Θεσσαλία, Ἄργος, Πηνειός, Πιερία, Πύθιον, Φάλαννα . . etc.,[8] C'est donc la région protohellénique, la patrie primitive des Grecs, où ils ont habité avant d'envahir la Grèce centrale et méridionale. D'autre part, le phrygien connu par quelques 150 inscriptions (depuis le VIe siècle avant notre ère) trouvées en Asie Mineure est étroitement apparenté au grec. Etant donné que les Proto-Phrygiens ont émigré en Asie Mineure au IIe millénaire partant de la Macédoine (septentrionale et orientale), la patrie primitive des Proto-gréco-macédo-phrygiens a été donc la région de la Grèce du Nord-Ouest et la Macédoine.

La réfutation de la quatrième présomption, c'est à dire de la thèse que les suffixes nd /ss et νθ /σ(σ) seraient d'origine pré-indo-européenne, est venue de deux côtés. Le premier c'est l'étude approfondie des langues hittites-louvites qui a démontré que les suffixes prétendus pré-indo-européens des toponymes anciens de l' Asie Mineure nd et ss proviennent de nt resp. s ou sy et sont d'origine hittite-louvite, c'est à d e indo-européenne.[9]

Etant donné que ces suffixes sont apparentés aux suffixes pré-helléniques νθ et σ(σ), ces derniers sont donc également d'origine indo-européenne. Par conséquent, les Grecs n'ont pas été les premiers Indo-Européens en Egéide: avant les Grecs, le territoire grec où on trouve les toponymes cités, c'est à dire la Grèce centrale et méridionale, a été habité par une population qui a parlé une langue indo-européenne différente de la langue grecque.

Cette thèse a été prouvée, de même, par l'étude approfondie de l'étymologie et de l'onomastique grecques.

III. APPELLATIFS ET NOMS PROPRES GRECS PRÉTENDUS PRÉ-INDO-EUROPÉENS (OU PRÉHELLÉNIQUES)

Une des plus grandes erreurs de la thèse pré-indo-européenne est qu'on attribuait à la langue prétendue pré-indo-européenne un grand nombre d'appellatifs et de noms propres dont l'origine grecque est parfaitement claire ou bien très vraisemblable: c'est la cinquième présomption de la théorie ancienne.

Voici quelques exemples:

Un des cas les plus caractéristiques est le suivant: Jusqu'à la fin du XIXe siècle on expliquait les termes grecs (F) οἶνος «vin» et οἴνη «Vigne» comme mots grecs hérités de l'indo-européen. Après l' établissement de la théorie pré-indo-européenne on a déclaré ces termes pré-indo-européens. Le raisonnement principal était: «Avant d' approcher la Méditerranée, les peuples de langue indo-européenne ignoraient le «vin»[10]. On peut

donc de la thèse préconçue que les proto-Grecs seraient venus de l'Europe centrale où la vigne ne pousse pas. Mais on ne sait pas où se trouve la patrie primitive des proto-Grecs ou des Indo-Européens. Au contraire, c' est à l' aide du vocabulaire qu' on essaye de la déterminer.

Si les mots grecs (F) οἶνος et οἴνη sont d'origine grecque, les proto-Grecs doivent avoir vécu dans une région vignifère. Or, ces termes grecs proviennent de l' i. -e. *w o y-n o-s et *w o y-n a et sont apparentés aux termes myc. w e j e w e plur. «vineta», lat. vinum «vin»[11] de *w o y-n o-m et v i t i s «vigne» de *w o y-t i s ou *w e y-t i-s, alb. (gègue) v e n ë «vin» de *w o y-n a, arm. g i n i «vin» de *w o y-n i y o-, hitt. w i-y a n a s «vin» de *w o y-n-o s.[12] Personne n'a osé déclarer le terme latin v i t i s comme pré-indoeuropéen car son étymologie indo-européenne est tout à fait sûre: v i t i s signifie la «plante à vrilles» et provient de la racine indo-européenne *w e y- «(se) tordre, (se) vriller»[13]. Cette dénomination est donnée d'après le trait le plus caractéristique de la vigne. Il était tout à fait faux de séparer v i n u m et v i t i s et de déclarer le premier comme pré-indo-européen et le second comme indo-européen. L'étymologie indo-européenne de ces termes est évidente.

Ainsi, sans aucune preuve sûre a-t-on déclaré un grand nombre de termes grecs comme pré-helléniques. Voici d'autres exemples: Le mot grec. att. ξένος, ion. ξεῖνος, éol. ξέννος, dor. ξενFος «étranger, étrange; m. étranger; hôte» de l' i. -e. *g h s-e n-w o-s est apparenté au lat. h o s t i s «étranger, ennemi» de i.-e. *g h o s-t i-s et le terme grec θεὸς «dieu» de l' i. -e. *d h w e s o-s est apparenté au lit. d v a s a s «esprit» de l' i. -e. *dhwoso-s.[14] Mais certains linguistes, sans aucune preuve, se basant seulement sur le fait que les étymologies des mots cités sont «difficiles», les déterminent comme pré-helléniques.[15]

Dans G r u n d z ü g e d e r g r i e c h i s c h e n S p r a c h g e s c h i c h t e (p. 31) de R. Hiersche, paru en 1970, ont trouve les termes grecs ἑρμηνεὺς «interprète» et τέρεμνον «maison, demeure» cités comme exemples de mots pré-helléniques. Mais l'origine grecque de ces termes est tout à fait claire: ἑρμηνεὺς est apparenté au lat. s e r m o,-o n i s «entretien, conversation» etc. et τέρεμνον par assimilation de τέραμνον de *τε-ραβ-νο-ν avec lat. t r a b s. «poutre», etc.[16]

Or, il est notoire que dans toutes les langues il y a un certain nombre de mots dont l'étymologie n'est pas complètement sûre. Néanmoins, les étymologies comme celles des termes grecs cités sont très vraisemblables et l'essai de leur explication est tout à fait scientifique. Au contraire, affirmer, sans aucune preuve, qu' ils ne sont pas d'origine grecque n' est pas une attitude sceptique: c'est une assertion immotivée à la base d'une thèse préconçue un procédé qui ne peut être appelé scientifique.

D'autre part, sous la forte influence de la théorie pré-indo-européenne, A. Fick a déterminé comme pré-indo-européens une quantité de noms de lieux dont l'étymologie grecque est parfaitement claire ou bien très vraisemblable. Cette thèse ayant longtemps prédominé, la liste de Fick, au lieu d'être corrigée, a été augmentée à plusieurs reprises. C'est l'origine de beaucoup de conceptions erronées quant à la toponymie du bassin égéen. Mais tandis que, à la fin du XIXe et au début du XXe siècle, ce procédé peu scientifique était excusable car alors la science onomastique était encore à ses débuts, aujourd' hui, quand la science onomastique est en plein essor, de telles conceptions ne peuvent être considérées comme scientifiques.

Néanmoins, on trouve toutes ces conceptions périmées et depassées dans l'article cité de J. Chadwick. Voici quelques exemples: Le toponyme 'Αστυπάλαια serait d'origine pré-hellénique, les preuves en sont: «the false concord and the long a of -παλ-». D' autre part, l'auteur suppose «a connexion with Στύμφᾱλος, since the movable initial ἀ-, the optional nasal, and the alternation of aspirated and unaspirated stops are all characteri tic of pre-Greek words.» (p.83).

Toutes ces affirmations sont erronées:

1°. Le a de -παλ- est bref, cfr. Ap. Rh., I, 488 et Ov., Met. VII, 461 où il apparaît dans la poésie. Le a long de -παλ- n' est qu' une faute typographique chez W. Pape - G. Benseler, W ö r t e r b u c h d e r g r i e c h i s c h e n E i g e n n a m e n, I., p. 166.

2° Ἀστυπάλαια et Ἀστυπαλαία qui apparaît comme la dénomination d'une île (νῆσος f.), de deux caps (ἄκρα f.) et de deux villes (πόλις f.) n'est pas un «false concord» mais un composé attributif dit b a h u v r i h i - formé à la base du syntagme ἄστυ παλαιόν (ἔχουσα, scil. νῆσος, ἄκρα ou πόλις). cfr. ἱπποπόταμος de ἵππος ποτάμιος, σύαγρος de σῦς ἄγριος, ἀνδραγαθία de ἄνδρ' ἀγαθόν, Σαμοθράκη de Σάμος Θρῃκίη, etc[17]. Le genre féminin du composé est déterminé par les appellatifs νῆσος, ἄκρα et πόλις. Le changement de l'accent est typique pour un toponyme formé à la base d'un appellatif, cfr. Ἀργεννον de ἀργεννός, Θέρμη de θερμός, Λεῦκαι de λευκός, Λίσσα de λισσός, Φυλάκη de φυλακή, etc. L'hésitation en ce qui concerne l'accent des toponymes est un fait banal cfr. Ἄρισβα et Ἀρίσβα, Δρύμουσσα et Δρυμοῦσσα, Ἠτιώνεια et Ἠτιωνεία, Καλαύρεια et Καλαυρεία, Κάλινδα et Καλίνδα, Λεβάδεια et Λεβαδεία, Μίνφα et Μινφά, Τέγυρα et Τεγύρα, etc., etc.

3°. L'affirmation que Ἀστυπάλαια soit apparenté avec le toponyme Στύμφᾶλος est gratuite; c'est une supposition peu scientifique.

J, Chadwick écrit: «.. the names of -ηττὸς are not closely connected with words of Indo-European origin ... (p. 88). Il s'agit des toponymes Λυκαβηττός, Ὑμηττός, etc. En réalité, il est vrai que la plupart des to ponymes formés à l'aide du suffixe σ(σ) sont d'origine préhellénique, par exemple, Λάρισ(σ)α, Παρνασσός. Mais dans un certain nombre de ces toponymes -σ(σ)- alterne avec -tt-, par ex., Ὑμηττός, nom d'une montagne en Attique, apparaît chez Hérodote (VI 137) sous la forme Ὑμησσός, Μολοττός, -οί, nom d'une tribu, apparaît aussi sous la forme Μολοσσός, -οὶ et ainsi de suite. En établissant que les toponymes en -σ(σ) - sont d' origine pré-indo-européenne, on a défini jadis que les toponymes en-tt- seraient aussi d'origine préhellénique.

Cependant l' alternance -σ(σ)/ττ- est conforme aux lois phonétiques de la langue grecque: elle provient du traitement des groupes anciens κ/χι, τ/θι. En général, -tt- est caractéristique de l'attique, du béotien du crétois et ne se retrouve ailleurs que partiellement, tandis que -σ(σ)- apparaît dans les autres dialectes, par ex:, att. κρείττων, μέλιττα, τέτταρες, φυλάττω et ion. κρείσσων, μέλισσα, τέσσαρες, φυλάσσω.[18] Si l'on admet un suffixe préhellénique -s(s)- apparenté au suffixe hittite-louvite -ss-, on ne pourrait expliquer l'origine des toponymes formés à l'aide du suffixe -σ(σ) alternant avec -ττ-: si la forme primitive du suffixe avait été -s(s)-, on aurait pu avoir en grec -σ(σ)-, mais pas du tout -ττ-.

Or, le suffixe -σ(σ)- alternant avec -ττ- est bien explicable comme une formation grecque. En indo-européen il existe un suffixe dénominal -(i)yo- qui sert pour former des adjectifs dérivés de substantifs. Il apparaît sous deux formes: -iyo- et -yo-. En grec (classique) sa forme vivante est -io- de -iyo: -yo- n'apparaît que très rarement. Cependant, la forme -yo- apparaît dans les inscriptions mycéniennes, par exemple a i z a de *αἰγ-ιᾶ dont le correspondant attique est αἰγέᾶ f. de αἴγεος «de chèvre»; ceci montre que la forme archaïque de ce suffixe a été en grec (au moins dans plusieurs dialectes) -yo-. Ce fait nous donne la possibilité d' expliquer les toponymes prétendus pré-indoeuropéens en -σ(σ)/ττ- comme grecs, par exemple:

Κηττός, nom d'un dème attique, provient de *κηκ-ιο-ς C'est un dérivé du mot grec κήξ (gen. κηκὸς) «plongeon ou mouette (oiseau de mer)» qui signifie «le lieu des mouettes».

Σφηττός, nom d'un dème attique, provient de *σφηκ-ιο-ς. C'est un dérivé du mot grec σφὴξ (gen. σφηκὸς) «guêpe» qui signifie «le lieu des guêpes».

Ἑρματτός, un toponyme d'Etolie, provient de *ἑρμακ-ιο-s. C'est un dérivé du mot grec ἕρμαξ (gen. ἕρμακος) «écueil» qui signifie «le lieu des écueils».

Ὑμηττὸς et Ὑμησσός, nom d'une montagne près d'Athènes, provient de *ὑμάτ--ιο-s. C'est un dérivé du mot grec ὗμα (gen. ὕματος) «pluie» qui signifie «la montagne des pluies (Regensberg)». Cette dénomination contient le trait caractéristique de la montagne mentionnée. On sait à Athènes: si des nuages se rassemblent autour de la montagne de Ὑμηττός, il y aura de la pluie à Athènes.

Λυκαβαττὸς et Λυκαβηττός, nom d'une d'une colline escarpée à Athènes, provient de *λυκαβάντ-ιο-s. C'est un dérivé du mot grec λυκάβᾶς (gen. λυκάβαντος) «année» qui signifie J a h r e s b e r g». J a h r e s b e r g e sont nommées en Allemagne méridionale et en Suisse des montagnes où le soleil apparaît tôt au printemps sur la cime. On sait à Athènes que le soleil apparaît au printemps sur la cime du Lycabettos. Cette explication est donnée déjà par E. Curtius. G r i e c h. G e s c h., II, p. 666.

Myc. w a t o = att. Ὑηττός, nom de lieu de Béotie, provient de *ὑα(ν)τ-ιο-ς. C'est un dérivé de *ὑα(ν), -ά(ν)τος participe de ὕει «il pleut» qui signifie «le lieu où il pleut (souvent)». Cette explication est donnée déjà par Etienne de Byzance: Ὑηττός . . . ὠνόμασται δ' οὕτως διὰ τὸ καθύεσθαι σφοδροῖς ὄμβροις, etc.

Par conséquent, contre l'affirmation immotivée de J. Chadwick que les thèmes de toponymes en-ηττὸς- ne seraient pas d' origine indo-européenne, on voit que les thèmes et le suffixe de ces toponymes sont d'origine grecque.

Mais ce ne sont pas seulement les toponymes en -σ(σ)- alternant avec -ττ- dont l'origine grecque est évidente. Parmi les toponymes grecs prétendus pré-indo-européens en -σ(σ)- il y en a qui sont également d'origine grecque, par exemple:

Βολισ(σ)ός avec σ(σ) de τι- est un dérivé de βόλιτον «fiente de boeuf, bouse».

Ἐρεσ(σ)ος avec -σ(σ) -de -τι- est un dérivé de ἐρέτης «rameur».

Ἀμφισσα avec -σ(σ)- de -τι- est apparenté au toponyme grec Ἄμφιτος, un dérivé de ἀμφί «autour».

Ἄργισσα, nom de lieu en Thessalie, avec -σσ- de -τι- et avec ι de η (graphie tardive) est un dérivé de ἀργὴς, -ῆτος-«blanc, brillant».

Ἀμβρυσ(σ)ος, formation rétrograde ou forme éolienne de Ἀμβρύσιος est un dérivé de ἄμ-βρυσις forme dialectale de l'attique ἀνὰ-βρυσις de ἀνα-βρύω «jaillir».

Une autre formation est représentée par les noms de lieux formés à l'aide du suffixe -ασ(σ)α, -ησ(σ)α, qui remonte à l'i.-e. (-α-Fεσσα<) *-a-went-ya: ces toponymes sont aussi d'origine grecque:

Λῆσσα de *λὰ(F)α(σ)-Fεσσα «riche en pierres», (la) pierreuse» dérivé de λὰας «pierre».

Τίασσα (-ος), source et rivière de Lacédémone, provient de *στὰ-Fεσσα dérivé de στίᾶ «petit caillou» avec στ -> lac. τ-.

Παγασαί, port en Thessalie, provient de *παγ-αFεσσα «la rocheuse», un dérivé de πάγος m. «rocher», montagne. colline, tertre».

Μύλασ(σ)α de *μυλὰ-Fεσσα «pourvu d'une meule» dérivé de μύλη «meule»; etc.

Parmi les autres toponymes prétendus pré-helléniques il y en a beaucoup dont l'origine grecque est évidente, par exemple:

Δρῆρος, une ville crétoise située dans une région boisée, provient de *δρεF-ερός«boisé»..

Καίρατος, petit fleuve près de Knossos et un autre (?) nom de la ville de Knossos, correspond précisément au skr. k e v a t a h m. «fosse« de i.-e. *k a y w r t o-s. C'est primitivement un thème en r /n, nom. *k a y w o t, gén. *k a y w n- e s, dont le grec a conservé quelques traces des cas obliques: καίατα «fosses» καιατόεσσα «aux vallées profondes» de *k a y w n t-.

Λάμπα > Λάππα att. Λάμπη, villes en Crète, en Acarnanie et en Argolide = λάμπη

(>λάπη) «écume, scorie».

Μυκήνη, le nom de la célèbre ville du Péloponnèse, est très souvent cité comme un toponyme pré-indo-européen. C'est tout à fait faux. Μυκήνη n'est qu'un dérivé grec de μύκη(s) «champignon»: c'est connu que la région de Mycènes est très riche en t r u f f e s.

Φαιστὸς: il y a quatre villes qui portent ce nom - une en Crète et trois en Grèce continentale. Dans les textes mycéniens de Knossos le nom est écrit p a ï t o (trisyllabique), c'est à dire la forme primitive a été Φαϊστὸς. Il y a aussi un nom de personne Φαῖστος. C'est le superlatif *φαῖστος de φάος n. «éclat» comme κέρδιστος de κέρδος n., ἐλέγχιστος de ἔλεγχος n., etc.

On doit donc être extrêmement circonspect en attribuant une origine préhellénique à un toponyme grec. S'il s'agit de la Grèce, il y a une p e t i t i o p r i n c i p i i: essayer d'abord d'expliquer un toponyme grec par la langue grecque. En ignorant ce principe, on a commis une grave erreur. Ainsi M. Doria déclare le toponyme mycénien w a r e u k a r a comme préhellénique à cause du suffixe -αρος -αρα (??).[19] Mais w a r e u k a r a est: Fάλε(ι) ὑγρὰ dat. (-loc.) sing. «dans la vallée humide» de *Fᾶλις (cfr. él. Γαλεῖοι) > dor. Ἄλις, att. Ἦλις «Elide» = lat. vallis «vallée» et ὑγρὸς «humide, pluvieux».

Certains linguistes sont d'avis que «few of the ancient place names of Greece have a Greek aspect»[20]. Ce n'est pas vrai. La plus grande partie des toponymes de la Grèce ancienne sont d'origine grecque, mais pour les comprendre on doit savoir les principes de la science onomastique. Il est faux de croire que beaucoup de toponymes en Grèce sont d'origine pré-hellénique, mais (partiellement) hellénisés. Sans doute y a-t-il de tels cas, mais ils sont extrêmement rares. Si J. Chadwick a exprimé des réserves quant à l'origine grecque de toponymes comme Δελφοί, Θερμοπύλαι, Ναύπλιον, Σπάρτη etc.,[21] celà signifie qu' il ignore les principes de la science onomastique. Les Grecs ont habité la Grèce actuelle du Nord-Ouest depuis des millénaires et ils ont occupé la Grèce centrale et méridionale a u m o i n s depuis le début du IIe millénaire. D'autre part, avant le IIe millénaire la population de la Grèce était encore relativement peu nombreuse. Les Grecs ont donc eu suffisamment de temps pour donner la nomenclature géographique de leur pays.

IV. L' ORIGINE INDO-EUROPÉENNE DE LA LANGUE PRÉHELLÉNIQUE

L'étude approfondie de l'étymologie grecque a conduit à la réfutation de la quatrième et cinquième présomption de la thèse pré-indo-européenne.

En soulignant qu'on a exagéré le nombre des toponymes préhelléniques et en prouvant qu'on a attribué fautivement de nombreux noms de lieux d'origine grecque au substrat prétendu pré-indo-européen nous ne nions pas le fait qu'il existe en Grèce ancienne une couche de toponymes pré-helléniques. Ce sont, par excellence, les noms de lieux formés à l'aide du suffixe νθ, ensuite la plupart des toponymes formés à l'aide du suffixe σ(σ) (qui n'alterne pas avec ττ) et enfin un certain nombre d'autres noms de lieux qui ne trouvent pas une explication étymologique du point de vue de la langue grecque.

La thèse pré-indo-européenne a été bâtie principalement sur les toponymes en νθ et σ(σ) qui forment la couche autochtone en Egéide. On n'a expliqué ni l'origine de ces suffixes, ni leurs thèmes. On les a déclarés come pré-indo-européens car ils ne trouvent pas une étymologie du point de vue de la langue grecque.

Le suffixe νθ que l'on trouve dans beaucoup de noms propres et appellatifs grecs, par exemple, Ἐρύμανθος, Κόρινθος, Πύρανθος, ἀσάμινθος, πλίνθος, σμίνθος, etc., ne peut être d'origine grecque parce que comme grec, d'après les lois phonétiques de la langue grecque, il doit provenir de i. -e. n d h, mais un tel suffixe indo-européen n'existe pas. Ce suffixe est explicable du point de vue d' u n e a u t r e l a n g u e i n d o - e u r o -

p é e n n e dont la phonétique historique se caractérise par une mutation consonantique comme en arménien, germanique et thrace. En tel cas νθ provient de i. -e. n t qui est un suffixe indo-européen banal.

Le suffixe σ(σ) qu'on trouve dans beaucoup de noms propres et appellatifs grecs, par exemple, 'Αμνισός, Λάρισ(σ)α, Πύρασος, κυπάρισσος, νάρκισσος, etc., ne peut être d'origine grecque parce que, d'après les lois phonétiques de la langue grecque où s (et s y) en position intervocalique s'est amui de très bonne heure, σ(σ) ne peut provenir du suffixe i. -e. s ou s y. Ce suffixe est explicable du point de vue d'u n e a u t r e l a n g u e i n d o - e u r o p é e n n e où l's (et sy) intervocalique est conservé.

Les suffixes νθ/σ(σ) et nd/ss sont donc génétiquement identiques, mais ils appartiennent à deux langues indo-européennes différentes. La langue pré-hellénique («pelasgique») et le hittite-louvite sont (étroitement) apparentées, mais ils possèdent aussi des traits qui les déterminent comme langues indo-européennes différentes. Ainsi les toponymes «pélasgiques» en νθ et σ(σ) sont-ils apparentés aux noms de lieux hittites-louvites en -nt/d- et ss, toutefois, alors que les premiers apparaissent sous les formes ινθ, υνθ, ανθ, et ασ(σ)/ησ(σ), ισ(σ), ωσ(σ) les seconds n'ont que les formes ant/d et (d' ordinaire) a s s a, rarement i s s a. Cela est explicable par les changements phonétiques différents caractéristiques pour ces langues: i. -e. ent > pél. ινθ, mais hitt. -louv ant/d; i. -e. nt > pél. υνθ, mais hitt. -louv. ant/d; i-e. ont>pél. ανθ, hitt. -louv. ant/d. Etant donné que de telles formes de toponymes préhelléniques sont attestées dans les textes mycéniens, on peut conclure qu' elles sont très anciennes, qu'elles remontent à l'époque précédant l'invasion grecque. Des recherches récentes sur l'origine des suffixes mentionnés hittite-louvites ont prouvé leur origine indo-européenne. C'est aussi une autre preuve que leurs correspondants en Grèce Ancienne doivent être de la même origine i. -e. Voici quelque exemples:

'Ερύμανθος, le nom de la grande montagne en Péloponnèse, dont la forme plus ancienne conservée dans les tablettes mycéniennes est o r u m a t o = 'Ορύμα(ν)θο(s), correspond au hittite U r u w a n d a s: tous les deux sont formés à l'aide du suffixe i.-e. bien connu -m/we/ont; c'est un dérivé d'un mot qui correspond au louvite et hitt.-hiér. u r a- «grand».

Κόρινθος, la ville péloponnésienne connue, située près d'une montagne (cfr. 'Ακροκόρινθος), provient de *g w b r i-w e n t- (avec e n t>i n t h, amuissement du w intervocalique et contraction) et correspond exactement au hittite K u r i w a n d a, nom d'une montagne en Asie Mineure du Sud-Ouest. Tous les deux sont dérivés à l'aide du suffixe i-e. -w e n t- (pourvu de») d'un thème qui correspond au skr. g i r i- «montagne» alb. g u r «pierre», etc., de i. -e. *g w b r i-.

Σάμινθος, le nom d'une colline, est un diminutif de σάμος «hauteur» «dune» provenant de i. -e. *twəmo-,cfr. lat. t a m a «tumeur» de *t w ə-m à et t u m-u l u s «tertre, hauteur; tombeau». Le suffixe diminutif -ινθ- remonte à -ent- ou -nt et correspond exactement aux suffixes hittite -a n t- et -e t- slave -e t-.

Παρνασσός, le nom de la montagne grecque connue, correspond exactement au toponyme hittite P a r n a s s a dérivé du substantif hittite p a r n «maison».

'Αμνισός, rivière et ville crétoises, est dérivé d'un mot correspondant au lat. a m n is «fleuve».

Λάρισ(σ)α nom de huit villes en Grèce Ancienne, provient de *l a w a r-i s (y) o- dérivé de i. -e. *lawar- «pierre». cf. gr. λᾶας «pierre».

Il y a encore beaucoup d'autres toponymes en Grèce présentant des particularités phonétiques non grecques qui de ce fait peuvent être déterminés comme pré-helléniques, par exemple:

Αἰδηψός, ville en Eubée où se trouvent des sources chaudes, provient de i. -e. *a y d h-â p s o-s, un composé de *a y d h- «chaud» (cf. gr. αἴθω «brûler» et *â p s o-s eau, rivière».

'Ατθικός, 'Αττικός, 'Ατθίς, contiennent une assimilation non grecque kt > tth: ces noms correspondent au mot grec ἀκτή «côte escarpée» et son dérivé ἀκτικός.

Σάλμος, lieu en Béotie, Σαλμώνη, nom de lieux en Elide et Crète, et Σαλαμίς, île près de l'Attique, contiennent un s initial antévocalique non grec: le thème est *s a l m- qui correspond au mot grec ἅλμη «eau de mer» saumure» provenant de l' i-e. *s a l m â, etc.

La couche toponymique pré-hellénique est attestée dans toute la Grèce centrale et méridionale, y compris l'île de Crète et la plupart des îles égéennes. Il n' y a aucune donnée sûre prouvant qu'il y ait eu une autre plus ancienne. C'est donc la couche ethnique à laquelle ont appartenu les civilisations néolithique et helladique avant l'arrivée des Grecs. Durant les siècles précédant l' invasion grecque, dans cette région, il y a eu probablement des infiltrations de tribus diverses venant du Nord ou de l'Est comme, par exemple, des Thraces, des Termiliens (d'origine louvite), des Lélèges (d'origine carienne), etc. Néanmoins, la population principale de la dite région ont été les Pélasges (ou des tribus pélasgiques diverses). La preuve en est l'homogénéité de la toponymie pré-héllenique (pélasgique).

Ainsi nous avons le droit de conclure que les Pélasges, c'est à dire les tribus pré-helléniques d'origine indo-européenne, ont habité le territoire de la Grèce centrale et méridionale depuis une époque très reculée au moins depuis l'époque où les habitants de cette région ont commencé à mener une vie sédentaire afin qu'ils puissent donner une certaine couche toponymique stable, c'est à dire, au moins depuis le Néolithique Ancien. Avant cette époque, la population était extrêmement rare et conduisait une vie nomade. Même au point de vue de la supposition pure et simple que la population paléolithique y serait d'origine pré-indo-européenne — une supposition qui n'est pas démontrable, — cette population n'a pas laissé de traces linguistiques perceptibles.

V. CONCLUSIONS GÉNÉRALES

Il est impossible d'exposer dans une brève communication tous les problèmes compliqués de l'ethnogenèse du peuple grec. Le résumé succint donné ci-dessus est le résultat de nombreuses recherches publiées durant une quarantaine d'années.[22]

Voici, à grands traits, le tableau de l'ethnogenése du peuple grec d'après une confrontation des données linguistiques, archéologiques et historiques:

P a l é o l i t h i q u e (et Mésolithique): L'homme apparaît dans le territoire de la Grèce probablement pendant le Paléolithique moyen (Macédoine, Chalcidice, Epire, Thessalie, Béotie, Elide, Argolide?) pénétrant vraisemblablement par le Nord[23]. La population a été extrêmement rare et a mené une vie nomade. Elle n'a pas laissé de traces linguistiques perceptibles afin qu'on puisse déterminer si elle a été d'origine pré-indo-européenne ou indo-européenne.

N é o l i t h i q u e a n c i e n: La population a augmenté et a commencé à mener une vie relativement sédentaire. C'est l'époque de la formation de la couche toponymique la plus ancienne: ce sont les noms de lieux en νθ, σ(σ) etc., répandus en Grèce centrale et méridionale, en Crète et dans la plupart des îles égéennes. Etant donné que, d' après la tradition grecque, les Pélasges ont été la population préhellénique principale de l' Egéide, on peut attribuer cette couche toponymique conventionnellement aux Pélasges. D'après l'étude étymologique de la toponymie pré-hellénique, la langue «pélasgique» est étroitement apparentée au thrace (cfr. Βισύνθη, Πειρινθος Z i l m i s s u s Καβασσὸς etc).

d'une part, et au hittite-louvite (Kuriwanda, Wiyanawanda, Irhassa, Tiwatassa, etc) de l' autre.

Pendant la même époque les territoires actuels de la Grèce du Nord-Ouest et de la Macédoine ont été habités par des tribus protogréco-macédo-phrygiennes. Cette conclusion est faite d'après la proche parenté des langues et l'étude de la toponymie ancienne de la région mentionnée.

Néolithique récent: En Grèce du Nord-Ouest s'est déjà formée la langue proto-grecque: c'est la patrie primitive des Grecs. Les preuves en sont: 1) Tous les principaux toponymes de cette région sont d'origine grecque archaïque; 2) Il y manque les toponymes préhelléniques typiques.

Helladique ancien I (±2750-2450) et II (±2450-2200): D'après, beaucoup d' archéologues, pendant cette époque, des émigrants venus d'Asie Mineure et porteurs de l'industrie du métal s'installent dans les Cyclades et dans les comptoirs côtiers de la Grèce continentale. La couche toponymique la plus ancienne en Asie Mineure occidentale sont les toponymes en n d et s s qui sont d'origine hittite-louvite. Les colons mentionnés qui ont exercé une certaine influence sur la population «pélasgique» et qui ont été probablement progressivement assimilés par elle sont donc d'origine hittite-louvite.

Quant à la Crète, les archéologues admettent deux groupes (ou couches) ethniques: la population de l'époque néolithique (± 6000-2600) et celle de l'époque minoenne (depuis ± 2600). C'est conforme à l'information de l'Odyssée (XIX, 172 et suiv.) qui distingue ici deux peuples pré-helléniques: Etéocrétois et Pélasges. C'est conforme, de même, aux données toponymiques. En Crète on trouve deux couches toponymiques pré-helléniques: toponymes de type «pélasgique» (Βερέκυνθος, Πύρανθος, 'Αμνισός, Βένκασος, Λάρισ(σα, Λαβύρινθος etc.,) et d'autres qui peuvent être expliqués à l'aide du hittite-louvite (Μινώα, Καρνησσό(-πόλις), Κύταιον, Μύριν(ν)α etc. D'après beaucoup d'archéologues, vers ± 2600, la Crète orientale (et centrale) a reçu des immigrants venus de l'Asie Mineure du Sud-Ouest. Aux IIe et IIIe millénaires l'Asie Mineure du Sud-Ouest et de l'Ouest a été habitée par une population hittite-louvite dont les successeurs directs sont les Lyciens, les Cariens et les Lydiens. D'après la tradition grecque, la Crète préhellénique a été habitée par un peuple appelé Termiliens qui sont d'origine Louvite (voir infra).

Helladique ancien II et III (± 2400- ± 1950): Partant de leur patrie primitive en Grèce du Nord-Ouest, les Proto-Grecs commencent progressivement à envahir l'Egéide.

Pendant le premier quart du IIe millénaire les Proto-Grecs occupaient déjà presque toute la Grèce distribués de la manière suivante: Proto-Doriens dans la Grèce du Nord-Ouest, Proto-Eoliens dans la Grèce du Nord-Est et partiellement en Grèce centrale (Thessalie, Phocide, Béotie du Nord-Ouest, Locride, Etolie et Acarnanie du Sud) et Proto-Ioniens en Attique, Eubée, Béotie et Péloponnèse.

Helladique moyen (± 1950 - ± 1500): Les inscriptions en linéaire A (XXe-XVIe s.; à l'exception de celles de Haghia Triada), sont écrites en une langue louvoïde («étéocrétoise»). C'est conforme à la tradition grecque d'après laquelle les Termiliens ont habité la Crète, mais très tôt ont émigré en Lycie. Leurs successeurs sont les Termiliens, les habitants de la Lycie, dont les inscriptions (termiliennes) ou lyciennes) sont écrites dans un dialecte louvite. Le second peuple préhellénique en Crète ont donc été les Termiliens (= Minoens) d'origine louvite.

Helladique moyen III (±1700-1550) et récent I (± 1550-1500): Partant de la Thessalie, des Proto-Eoliens, probablement des Achéens venant de l' Achaïe Phthiotide, occupèrent (la plus grande partie du) Péloponnèse en se superposant partiellement sur la couche proto-ionienne. Les Cydoniens (Κύδωνες) pénètrent en Crète occidentale et centrale: ce sont probablement les premiers Grecs qui ont enhavi la Crète. Les ins-

criptions en linéaire A de Haghia Triada (XVIe / XVe s.) sont vraisemblement écrites dans ce dialecte grec.

Helladique récent = Mycénien: Vers le XVe/XIVe s. les Mycéniens (= Achéens) occupent la Crète (centrale). Les Termiliens (=Minoens) émigrent en Lycie.

Pendant cette époque, entre le XVe et le XIIe siècle, surgit la première langue grecque commune (linéaire B), qui représente un mélange de proto-éolien et de proto- ionien. C'est la koiné mycénienne, parlée principalement dans le Péloponnèse (pas partout), partiellement en Crète (à Knossos), et dans d'autres centres de la civilisation mycénienne.

Mycénien récent III (± 1230-1100) et Submycénien (±1100-1000): L'invasion dorienne est la troisième et dernière vague grecque qui s'est déferlée sur la Grèce (centrale et) méridionale.

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1. Ces problèmes sont exposés en détail dans mon livre Introduzione alla storia delle lingue indeuropee, Rome, 1966. p. 343. et suiv.

2. Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique, XV, 1908 /9. p. 161 et suiv.

3. Cfr., par ex., A. Meillet., Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque, 6e éd., Paris, 1930, p. 59 et suiv.

4. Voir ma Vorgriechische Sprachenwissenschaft, Sofia, 1941, p. 13 et suiv.

5. Par exemple. Die ältesten Kulturen Griechenlands, Stuttgart, 1955, Agäis und Orient. Wien. 1967· u.a.

6. Voir infra.

7. Cfr. O. Carruba, Origini e preistoria degli Indo- Europei d' Anatolia, Rivista di filologia, 97, 1969, p. 22.

8. L'affirmation de J. Chadwick (The Prehistory of the Greek Language Cambridge, 1964. p. 14). que les Grecs seraient venus «from the plains of Central Europe» n'est qu'un atavisme de conceptions dépassées.

9. Voir V. I. Georgiev, La toponymie ancienne de la péninsule Balkanique et la thèse méditerranéenne, Sofia. 1961. p. 15 et suiv.

10. Cfr. E. Laroche, Etudes de toponymie anatolienne, Revue hittite et asianique, XIX, fasc. 69, 1961 p. 57: «La doctrine généralement acceptée. selon laquelle les toponymes en -ssa et -nda représentent une couche de vocabulaire antérieure aux migrations indo-européennes et définissent par conséquent un «substrat» asianique. repose essentiellement sur l'affirmation que ces suffixes n'ont pas d'étymologie». p. 91: «... les célèbres formations toponymiques en -assa et en -anda appartiennent à une couche de vocabulaire indo-européenne et doivent leur expansion à l'établissement de populations d'origine indo-européenne (Hittites et Louvites) .. Cfr. aussi id.. Linguistique asianique, Ve Colloque Intern. des études mycéniennes, Rapports préliminaires Salamanca, 1970. p. 116.

11. A. Meillet, Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque, 6e éd., Paris, 1930, p. 64.

12. En ce qui concerne le genre neutre cfr. lat. pomum «fruit» et pomus «arbre fruitier», pirum «poire» et pirus «poirier» etc.

13. Voir en detail V. Georgiev, Introduzione alla storia delle lingue ind'europee, Rome 1966, p. 376 et suiv.

14. Cfr. A. Ernout — A. Meillet, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine s. v.

15. Cfr. E. Boisacq, Dictionnaire étymologique, s. vv.

2. Cfr., par exemple, J. Chadwick, Greek and Pre-Greek, Transactions of the Philological Society, 1969 p. 82.

16. Cfr. E. Boisacq, D. ét., s. vv. A. Waldo-J. B. Hofmann, Lat. et Wb., s. vv.

17. Voir E. Schwyzer, Gr. Gr., I, p. 428 et suiv.

18. Dans certaines inscriptions ioniennes d'Asie du VIe et Ve s. la sifflante intervocalique σσ de l'ionien

est notée par T (sém. tsadé gr. σάν) en alternance avec σσ, mais on ne connaît pas la valeur phonétique exacte du signe. s s, s(s) t s ou t, voir E. Schwyzer, G r. G r., I, p. 318.

19. M. Doria, A s p e t t i d e l l a t o p o n o m a s t i c a m i c e n e a d e l l e t a v o l e t t e i n l i n e a r e B d i P i l o, VII Congresso Intern, di Scienze Onomastiche, Firenze-Pisa, 1961 p. 422.

20. Cfr. J. Chadwick, l. c., p., 84 et 83.

21. Voir l. c. p. 83 et suiv., 95.

22. Les publications parues pendant les dernières années sont: le livre I n t r o d u z i o n e a l l a s t o r i a d e l l e l i n g u e i n d e u r o p e n (Rome. 1966) et les articles W a s s t e l l t d i e P e l a s g e r t h e o r i e d a r? (Lingua, 16, 1966, p.263 et suiv.). D i e e u r o p ä i s c h e M a k r o h y d r o n y m i e u n d d i e F r a g e n a c h d e r U r h e i m a t d e r Indoeuropäer (IX Intern. Kongress für Onomastik, Amsterdam, 1966, p. 491 et suiv.) L' é t a t a c t u e l d u d é c h i f f r e m e n t d e s t e x t e s e n l i n é a i r e A (Congresso di Micenologia 1967, I, Rome, 1968, page 355 et suiv.). L a s t r a t i f i c a t i o n p r i n c i p a l e d e s t o p o n y m e s e n G r è c e a n c i e n n e (Proceedings o f the Ninth Intern. Congress of Onomastic Sciences, London, 1966, Louvain, 1969, p. 227 et suiv.), L' e t h n o g e n è s e d e l a p é n i n s u l e B a l k a n i q u e d'après les données linguistiques (L'ethnogenèse des peuples balkaniques, Sofia, 1971, p. 155 et suiv.) voir aussi T h e E a r l i e s t E t h n o l o g i c a l S i t u a t i o n o f t h e B a l k a n P e n i n s u l a a s e v i d e n c e d b y L i n g u i s t i c a n d O n o m a s t i c D a t a (Los Angeles, 1969, sous presse), L'a r r i v é e d e s G r e c s: l e s d o n n é e s l i n g u i s t i q u e s (Sheffield, 1970, sous presse) et L e t r a i t e m e n t d e s s o n n a n t e s v o y e l l e s i n d o - e u r o p é e n n e s e t l e p r o b l è m e d u c a r a c t è r e d e l a l a n g u e m y c é n i e n n e (Salamanque, 1970, sous presse).

23. Voir S. S. Weinberg, T h e S t o n e A g e i n t h e A e g e a n, Cambridge, 1965 p. 3 et suiv, G. Rachet, A r c h é o l o g i e d e l a G r è c e p r é h i s t o r i q u e, Paris 1970, p. 62 et suiv.

COMMENTS

Garasanin:

C' est en ma qualité de préhistorien que je voudrais poser, cette fois, une question au Prof. Georgiev.

Quelles sont les preuves que les populations du néolithique ancien soient en fait, ces

populations i.e. préhelléniques dont il a été question ici. Si j' ai bien compris, du côté linguistique nous avons 2 grandes couches. Une couche i. e. préhellénique et une couche i.e. grecque. Si nous considérons les choses du point de vue archéologie nous avons plusieurs moments de grands bouleversements. Des Störungen, comme nous disait Prof. Schachermeyr, quelque chose qui nous permet d' admettre aussi des changements ethniques. Je ne vois donc pas, comme archéologue, pourquoi cette couche i.e. préhellénique ne serait pas une couche de l' époque néolithique récente ou par exemple du début de l' Hellénique Ancien puisque c' est depuis la seconde étape de l' hellénique ancien que nous pouvons parler de ces questions avec plus de précision?

Vl. Georgiev:

Le plus grand changement qui a eu lieu en Grèce c' est quand la civilisation Mycénienne a été anéantie et il y a après une civilisation nouvelle. Est-ce qu' il y a des peuples différents? Non, ce sont les Doriens et Mycéniens, peuples grecs, c'est à dire tribus grecques. C' est tout à fait clair qu' on n' a pas le droit de soutenir qu' un changement de civilisation est toujours un changement ethnique. C' est clair, et c' est la même chose aussi en Thrace, où vous trouvez, par exemple chez Homère, d' autres tribus thraces qui disparaissent après, mais ce sont des tribus thraces, et avant, nous avons les Syconiens et d' autres, et après, nous avons les Odris qui ne se trouvent pas chez Homère. Tout celà prouve qu' il y avait des changements de civilisations d' abord parce qu' il y avait beaucoup de tribus d' origine i.e. depuis le néolithique et probablement depuis le mésolithique il y avait déjà des langues différentes d' origine i.e. Si nous acceptons, et ce sont des faits, que les peuples sémitiques sont déjà différenciés en ce qui concerne la langue depuis le 3e mill. a.n.è. parce que l' arabe est bien attesté depuis ce moment-là, pourquoi ne pouvons-nous pas aussi accepter que les langues i.e. se sont différenciées depuis le néolithique et vous savez que les langues sémitiques d' aujourd' hui sont moins différenciées que les langues indoeuropéennes qui sont tout à fait différentes l' une de l' autre. Ça signifie que la séparation a été faite à une époque beaucoup plus reculée.

Marinatos

It is very difficult for a Greek to take part in a discussion in which one side claims the Greeks came about 1300 B.C. on Greek soil and the other side says many millennaries before. Meanwhile, I would like to say that, in my opinion, there are indeed very many words or expressions which have been meant prehellenic while they can be explained easily as hellenic.

In Crete, for example, I should like to mention that I have written since many many years a paper in which I have tried to show that the Termylae, the Lydians, in Asia Minor, should be Cretan «émigrés» who had emigrated, according to the tradition, with Sarpedon. And Sarpedon should be in the district of the palace of Malia, of which we don' t yet know the ancient name, and I was really electrified when one day, hunting, I heard from peasants there that the local name of Malia is Tarmalos and Tarmalos is Tramili, it is Termylae. There are several places in Crete which bear this name: Tarmalos.

Concerning YMHTTOΣ, Hymettus, I should like to add one word, which you surely do not know, dear Professor. Here in Athens, people call this mountain «ὁ τρελλὸς» the «crazy one», because as soon as we have a cloud there, in some half an hour or so, we have rain.

Concerning Lycabettus I should also like to add a few words, which I believe prove that the name should be Greek. The name «λυκάυας» is of course known from the Odyssey, it is mentioned in it twice, or I should say once only, because the other verse is «λὐκαυας». Specialists say, it is a Greek word which means the advent of light «Lichtgang». Now we must never forget that at period all people all over the world were based on the

lunar calendar and a lunar month has 29 days and 13 hours — minus some minutes, the greatest difficulty for that lunar calendar was that people could never say whether the next day was the last day of this month or the first day (numenia) of the next month.

Most practical was what is the use today in Islam when they watch the first appearance of the sickle of the moon after sunset. Of course, they have chosen high places to watch this phenomenon and I think this is what Lycabettus should mean. The high place from which to watch to see whether the next day would be numenia or still the same month.

Schachermeyr:

Ich glaube, wir müssen scheiden zwischen Luwisch und Lykisch. Es sind zwei verwandten Sprachen aber nicht identisch. Und so, wir können sagen, auf der einen Seite Luwisch, auf der anderen Seite Lykisch-Termylisch. Nun, wir haben eine Sage, dass Termylen geflüchtet sind nach Lykien; das ist vielleicht richtig, aber was hat das mit den Luwier zu tun? Man kann vielleicht sagen die Lyker sind geflüchtet aber nicht die Luwier sind geflüchtet. Natürlich, wenn die Termylen, vielleicht von Kleinasien gekommen sind und dann wieder zurück, man kann sagen, das ist eine solche Einwanderung, aber das ist doch keine Luwische. Und man kann sagen, das wird vielleicht gewesen sein vor 2000 v.u.Z. bevor die Kretische Paläste begonnen, nicht wie Barnard nennte, erst um 1700, das ist ganz falsch. Das hat sich wieder und wieder gezeigt, dass die Kontinuität der Palast-Kultur eine absolute ist. Aber jetzt kommt einmal noch eine Frage: Wenn nun diese Termylen nach Lykien gegangen sind und dort vielleicht eine führende Rolle gespielt haben, warum haben wir in Lykien nicht mehr kretisches Kulturkunst als wie es in Wirklichkeit da. Nur die Lykischen Graber kann man nennen sonst ist es nichts. Aber noch eine andere Frage: Wir haben verschiedentlich den Fall, dass z.B. Hethiter nachdem sie unterdrückt und unterworfen und vernichtet worden sind, gehen nach Carchemisch und dort sie sind wieder Hethiter aber da sind gar nicht mehr die Hethiter echter Art und sie sprechen schon eine andere Sprache. Oder wir haben Bulgaren, das sind ursprünglich irgendwelche Mongoleide oder Uderaltaische und sie kommen, sie sind die Herren, sie geben die Sprache auf behalten aber den Namen. Oder die Franken kommen nach Gallien; sie geben die Sprache auf, der Frank, der Name Français bleibt. Ist es nicht möglich, dass wenn auch die Termylen kommen nach Lykien sie dort einfach die lykische Sprache übernehmen und nur der Name Termylen bleibt? Also diese Möglichkeit müssen wir immer offen lassen.

Vulpe:

Je voudrais demander à Prof. Georgiev si l' inscription de Lemnos, dont la langue est attribuée aux Pélasges, parce que les auteurs antiques nous disent que Lemnos a été une patrie des Pélasges, alors cette langue est attribuée aux Pélasges, est-ce que cette langue a-t-elle effectivement quelque chose d'indo-européen? Vous avez affirmé que la plus grande rupture, la plus grande solution de continuité de civilisation en Grèce a été l'arrivée des Doriens. C'est vrai qu'il y a eu une autre avant cela, l'arrivée des Achaeens. Mais elle n'est pas aussi grave car du point de vue civilisation il y a continuité. Mai. entre la civilisation Mycénienne et l'état des choses aprés l'invasion dorienne, naturellement il y a un grand changement. Mais il y a un changement encore plus grand, très brusque, très brutal , contrastant dans l'Europe balkano-danubienne, et ceci est vers la fin du Néolithique, vers la fin du 3e millénaire. Il y a une grande rupture entre la continuité de la série néolithique qui fait place à une autre série de phénomènes, qui commencent très modestement pour se développer plus tard, à l'époque du bronze, et une continuité de phénomènes qu'on peut suivre jusqu' à l'époque proto-historique quand on

sait très bien qu'à cette époque-la nous avons l'invasion indoeuropéenne. Est-ce qu' on n'a pas le droit d'attribuer cette grande rupture aux troubles provoqués par la première appartition des indo-européens? Et quant à la Grèce, les phénomènes qui suivent ne sont que les conséquences de ces grands troubles, qui ont commencé dans le régions du Danube, des Karpathes, de la Steppe Eurasiatique vers la fin du Néolithique provoqués peut-être par l'expansion des premiers indo-européens.

VI. Georgiev:

L'inscription sur la stèle de Lemnos n'est pas d'origine pélasgique mais mycénienne. C'est une question tout à fait différente. En ce qui concerne les mouvements, il y avait des mouvements dans toute l'Europe dont on ne peut pas dire que c'étaint des peuples indo-européens ou pré-indo-européens tout simplement comme ça. Il faut toujours avoir des preuves linguistiques pour pouvoir dire s'il s'agit d'indo-européens ou de pré-indo-européens. Ca dépend de la conception génerale. Depuis quand est-ce qu'il existait en Europe des indo-européens. et où étaient-ils?

Si vous acceptez que depuis le Néolithique toute l'Europe Centrale et Orientale avait des indo-européens, pour vous le problème est déjà résolu. Ce sont des peuples différents d'origine indo-européenne.

Vulpe:

Permettez-moi de préciser. J'incline à croire que les indo-européens sont d'origine de l'Asie Centrale. Ils ont émigré vers l'Europe vers la fin du Néolithique, se séparèrent probablement pour prendre de differentes directions et, à la fin du Néolithique, ils provoquèrent la catastrophe de la plus belle civilisation de Cucuteni et celle de Gulmenitza aussi.

VI. Georgiev:

C'est impossible que les indo-européens soient venus de l'Asie Antérieure ou de quelque part de l'Asie. C'était là la thèse d'il y a 150 ans, qui disait que les indo-européens sont venus de l'Inde. Tout celà a été complètement abandonné. Pourquoi cela est-il impossible? Pour la simple raison que toute la toponymie indo-européenne ancienne c'est dans la région la région entre le Rhin et le Don qu' on la trouve. En Asie il n' y a aucune trace de toponymie ancienne indo-européenne.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE INDO-EUROPEAN PLACENAMES OF GREECE

by

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It is doubtful if the study of toponymy by itself can provide more than a few suggestions about the time and manner in which Greece was Indo-Europeanized, for toponymy is a study that it is disastrous to approach in a spirit of optimism. Arguments, and methods of argument, are thrown into confusion by three principal kinds of weakness: first, the inadequacy of data; second, the imperfections of the science of historical linguistics; third, the imperfections of the historical or archaelogical record. On the first point, it is a serious matter that a reasonable picture of Greek toponymy is not available until between one and two millennia after the first penetration of the country by speakers of the Indo-European dialects ancestral to Greek.

But the defects of the data are not confined to time; the attestation of minor placenames, dependent as it is on the chances of history, is very patchy. Minor placenames, however, are of great interest to those who seek to draw historical conclusions. It has been observed, for example, by K. Jackson («Notes on the Celtic Placenames of England», VIIth Congress of Onomastic Sciences, 1961, pp. 189-191) that in the hydronomy of England Celtic names are few in the east and confined to major rivers, more frequent in the centre, and most numerous in the west where even small streams may preserve their Celtic name. This pattern of toponymy is easily correlated with the historical data of dense and early Saxon settlement in the east of England, more gradual penetration of the midlands, and the much later and rapid conquest of the west. But for archaic Greece it is not possible to draw any comparably broad picture. On the second point, it cannot be stressed too much that toponymy is fraught with a very high degree of popular etymology: people like the names of their homes to be meaningful and of good omen. The result of such etymologizing may be a linguistic or topographical absurdity, but if it is not, there is no cause to suspect a transformed toponym without external evidence, and no means of proving the transformation without historical records. Were it not for a Thessalian Μακκάραι, the Arcadian Μακαρία would be an unexceptionable name—as indeed it may well be («Richelieu»).

On the other hand, toponyms may show maverick behaviour in comparison with the normal evolutionary trends of their language, both innovatory, e.g. Ἀκαδημία (< Fεκα-) with vowel assimilation, and conservative e.g. Villefort, not -forte. Moreover, even if the list of toponyms can be sifted according to reasonable probability, it is uncertain what historical conclusions may be properly drawn from the data, especially if they do not show any extreme features. The succcess or failure of an intrusive language depends on a complex of material and moral factors, and likewise the persistence of substrate features. We cannot with certainty predict success, nor infer from the degree of success on the part of the intrusive language the nature of the factors that favoured it. However, it is reasonable to hope that our evidence may point more imperatively in certain directions than in others. On the third point it is clear that the archaeological record permits great divergences of opinion. Did those Indo-Europeans who introduced their characteristic component into the speech that was to develop as Greek enter their historical home at the end of the Late Helladic period? At the end of the Middle Helladic? At or towards the end of the Early Helladic? Did they come as refugees from

North West Anatolia, or as «savages from Central Europe introducing bits of Schnurkeramik, battleaxes, and widespread destruction, «in a huge horde, suddenly, or as a few infiltrators over a long period of time modestly willing to adapt and learn from the aboriginal cultures? These alternatives would leave different traces in the toponyms.

First we must look at the numbers and types of Indo-European toponyms, then at some analogies by which to interpret the facts. By Indo-European I mean here that particular form of Indo-European speech which in the special circumstances of Greece eventually became Greek. By implication the aboriginal language (s) were not Indo-European. Apologies are therefore due to those who believe that the languages displaced by Greek were Pelasgian or Luvian, both of which would themselves be Indo-European.

In the past lists of toponyms have usually been compiled for linguistic reasons, for the purpose of studying, for example, the suffixation. Consequently there have been included in the same list the names of mountains, rivers large and small, villages, cities, and peoples. From the point of view of history, however, such a list is inconvenient. Mountains and cities and villages differ in permanence and in political significance, so that the motives for naming them are not the same. It is noteworthy that everywhere the nomenclature of rivers is much more durable than the momenclature of human settlement. It is better therefore to study something more homogeneous, a corpus of important cities, for example, such as those which Homer thought worthy to put into the Catalogue of Ships, or a corpus of village names such as the toponyms of the Pylos tablets or the list of Attic demes.

It is widely supposed, because linguists cannot agree on the etymologies, that the names of those settlements which we may call the capital cities of the Mycenaean world include very few that are Indo-European: one the one hand Iaolkos, Thebai, Athenai, Mykenai. Argos, Tiryns, Lakedaimon; on the other perhaps only Pylos. But, as I shall suggest below, this characteristic of a list of metropolitan toponyms is only to be expected, no matter what the historical background.

The Homeric Catalogue lists small as well as important centres, and gives a broader picture of the nomenclature of relatively major settlements. It supplies circa 140 toponyms for the mainland of Greece. Some appear to be both Greek and Indo-European, for example Panopeus, Koroneia, Erythrai. Some are Greek from the point of view of the classical language, but are not Indo-European, for example, Marathon, Kyparissos, Pteleon. These seemingly Greek names are perhaps a quarter of the total. There is no point, in view of the linguistically deceptive nature of toponyms, in being exact in one's figures. The rest are etymologically obscure. Presumably such names were in existence and in situ before Indo-Europeans arrived at least in the majority of cases. It is essential to recognize. however, that as soon as a toponym is adopted by Indo-Europeans it becomes Indo-European itself and may be carried along by them as part of their common stock of toponymic words. In mediaeval times those who bestowed Frankish and Slavic names on Greek sites were not always themselves Franks or Slavs. (On this important topic see E. P. Hamp, «The Albanian diffusion of Slavic toponyms in Greece», VIIth Congress of Onomastic Sciences, 1961, pp. 137-144, and J.A. Thomopoulos, «Anthroponymes et toponymes francs en Grèce», VIII th Congress 1966, pp. 521-528). It is likely that the toponymy of Thessaly, an area of Mycenaean expansion, should be treated with great reserve.

For our present purpose one fact is of interest concerning the pre-Greek toponyms, namely that their adaptation to the requirements of Greek noun-declension is very uniform throughout the area in which they occur. Except for those names in the neuter suffix — the animate gender is almost universal. (The o-stems were perhaps all originally masculine, but the feminine gender, with the support of πόλις, progressively gained ground.)

The neuter Ἄργος is exceptional. The nasal and dental suffixes are normally adapted as, a-stems, Μυκῆναι, or o-stems, Κόρινθος. Abnormal are Τροίζην and Τίρυνς. But this kind of uniformity is compatible with almost any kind of historical event. The essential fact is here a linguistic one, the fact that the a-and-o-stems are dominant part of morphology in late Indo-European and throughout the history of Greek. To permit a historical conclusion it would be necessary to discover a discontinuity in the types of formation, the kinds of adaptation, or the proportions of Indo-European to pre-Greek names such as Jackson noted in the hydronomy of Britain.

It is natural for the English scholar to draw his analogies from English toponymy, but the comparison may be useful. Many parts of Europe have changed their language in historical times, but in England at least both substrate and superstrate languages are reasonably well known and the history of the Saxon conquest is reasonably documented. The Saxons themselves saw their conquest in heroic terms, as series of battles and massacres glorifying the ancestors of their princely families. It reminds one of the way in which scholars at one time pictured the Indo-Europeanization of southern Europe. The reality in both cases would be different: small bands with a common purpose but no common direction. But the heroic picture of the Saxon incursions is true to this extent that it emphasizes the cataclysmic cultural break that the Saxon conquest brought about. Yet the major settlements of Roman Britain to an astonishing degree retain their Romano-British names: London, Lincoln, York, Gloucester, Dover, etc. So did the rivers. And the same reason applies in both cases. A substantial town and a large river are permanent features of geography. A conquest must be very «heroic» indeed if the conquerors have no alternative but to invent new names for such places.

However, if we turn to minor settlements we see a very different and more informative picture. Within a radius of 15 kilometers from the University of Oxford — an area of very early Saxon settlement — there are approximately 100 villages, the great majority of whose names are attested from before 1100 A.D. Some 90 have reasonably certain Saxon names, and no more than five appear to be Celtic. The contrast in the toponymy of major and minor settlements is thus extremely sharp. Moreover, the toponymy of minor settlements is the one that is historically important, for it illustrates clearly what the toponymy of the major settlements tends to obscure, namely that the Saxon conquest dramatically changed the way of life of men in Britain. It is important therefore to consider the toponymy of minor settlements in Greece from as early a period as possible. In this respect the Pylos tablets have been supremely valuable, providing about 180 toponyms (besides such as may be implied in ethnics), or more than three times as many as provided by the Knossos tablets. The only comparable coverage of a small area is supplied by the list of Attic demes, with some 150 names.

Ventris and Chadwick wrote (Documents, 140) with reference to the tablets, «the rarity of names with clear Greek meanings is obvious both at Pylos and Knossos.» The emphasis is on «clear». For toponyms do not allow of any contextual control of the etymological method; also, the toponyms may well be half a millennium old when they were recorded by the Pylian scribes, a half-millennium during which the evolution of the language proceeded apace. M. Doria («Toponomastica Micenea», VIIth Congress of Onomastic Sciences, pp. 418-440) and V. I. Georgiev («L'importance des toponymes mycéniens pour les problèmes de l'histoire de la langue grecque et l'ethnogenèse des grecs», Linguistique Balkanique 9 (1964) 5-39) have both examined the Pylian toponyms and come to different conclusions. My own view of the matter is that the Pylian list, like the list of Attic demes, is essentially composed of pre-Indo-European names partially Hellenized by a few formants.

On the evidence of the list alone it is clear that a number of suffixes were, or had been,

productive in the formation of toponyms: -i-jo and -i-ja (with -e-wi-jo and -e-wi-ja); -wa- (with -e-wa); -e-u or -e-we; -o, locative -o-ne; -wo, locative -wo-te. At least 60 names are formed in these ways. In about half the cases the roots are obscure, in half they are Greek enough though by no means always Indo-European. The -wo-wo-te has attracted attention as a result of its possible connection with the familiar -οῦς/-οῦντος type. There are some ten names. A_2-pa-tu-wo, A_3ru-wo, Do-ro-qo-so-wo, Ne-do-wo, Si-jo-wo, are obscure. Possibly E-wi-ku-wo and Te-ru-wo may derive from ἰσχύς and τέρυς. E-ri-nu-wo, Mu-to-wo, Se-ri-no-wo are Greek enough if the script does not mislead (ἐρινεός or ἔρινος, μύρτος, σέλινον), but are not Indo-European. If these names are connected with the -οῦς/-οῦντος type their formation continued to be productive down to the colonial period (see E. Risch, «Ein Gang durch die Geschichte der griechischen Ortsnamen», Mus. Helv. 22 (1965) 193-205). The -i-ja/-i-jo type contains rather more Indo-European Greek. C. J. Ruijgh's lists in Études du grec mycénien, 1967, pp. 163 ff., include 28 such toponyms and Greek interpretations are quoted for 16 of them. The suffix is, of course, very productive in Mycenean in the formation of ethnica. The evidence thus contains a hint that the productively suffixed names reflect name-giving during the prosperous and expansive phases of the LH period. The wo-wo names of the type ke-ra-ti-jo-jo-wo-wo also have an ephemeral appearance and may reflect secondary name-giving. However, the bulk of the Pylian toponyms appear to be either plain roots, or to be formed with suffixes not regularly used in the toponymic sphere. Some Greek terms appear here: Ἐπιπολαί, Εὔριπος, Χάραδρος, Λεῦκτρον Ἐλάφων Λιμήν. But I doubt if more than a quarter can reasonably be counted Indo-European.

It would be unwise to suppose that the uncertain and disputable facts of toponymy compel us to accept any particular historical conclusion. But it seems to me that the Greek facts contrast with the facts to be observed where violent incursions disrupted that pattern of human settlement. If history repeats itself, we should look for an analogy to the Indo-Europeanization of Greece rather in the penetration of the Slavs into the Peninsula than in the conquest of the Franks. Such an Indo-Europeanization would require a long period for its accomplishment and would be more compatible with a date at the end of the Early Helladic for the arrival of the new linguistic elements than with any later point.

MINYANS AND LUVIANS

by

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The title of this communication, «Minyans and Luvians», sounds rather provocative. It was deliberately meant to be so, in order to provoke discussion.

Minyans and Luvians have only two things in common. Firstly, they both do not really exist at all, they never existed. They are both purely imaginary peoples and only exist in our imagination. This is something one very often forgets. Secondly, their names have become labels used for rather far-reaching theories concerning invasions or immigrations into Greece and into Asia Minor.

As for the Minyans, we use this name consistently in a generic manner for the population of Greece in the second millennium B.C. who were using Minyan pottery. It is as simple as that. No ancient writer, no ancient Greek author, called the Minyans a population or a people. The name Minyan pottery was first used by Schliemann and Dörpfeld for a distinctive type of grey and yellow ware in Greece that was earlier than Mycenaean, and to which they had to give a name. And out of the pottery we create a people.

The name Minyan was taken from an ancient Greek legend. The Minyai were the three daughters of Minyas, king of Orchomenòs in Boeotia. They were driven mad by Dionysos. Can you imagine these three girls sitting there and producing all the Minyan pottery? No, the traditions tell us nothing about that. They only tell us that they got married, whether mad or not mad, they got married to heroes of Greek legends, and later several royal dynasties traced their descent back to those three daughters of Minyas, the Minyai. No tradition tells us anything at all about their language, whether it was Greek or whether it was some other Indo-European tongue like Thracian, Pelasgian or Carian.

As for the Luvians, the opposite tàctics have been adopted. They are not named after a kind of pottery, or after a legendary descent of royal families, but after a language. Cuneiform Luvian texts, quotations, names and words are preserved in many Hittite documents of the second millennium B.C. Another Luvian dialect survives in Hittite Hieroglyphic inscriptions both of the second and the first millennium B.C. And a derivative of yet another form of Luvian is of course the Lycian of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. But in neither case do we hear of a people called the Luvians. Though we can speak of a group of Luvian languages and of a Luvian speaking population, it seems to me quite misleading to talk of a people called the Luvians. Then to go futher and to imagine an ethnic group of monolingual Luvians migrating into Asia Minor from some completetely unknown quarter sounds a little like science fiction. For though it would seem to be move scientific to name a people after a language than after a pottery, it does involve the same petitio principii.

Is it mere coincidence or an amusing parallel due to the ingrained German notion of identifying a language with an ethnic group, that the first mention of the Luvians as a compact people occurred in A. Goetze, Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients, Kleinasien, 1933, p. 53 ff, where he ascribes the distinctive pottery of north-western Asia Minor in the Early Bronze Age, the Troy-Yortan pottery to a people he calls the Luvians? Again we have this strange attempt at identifying a certain pottery with a certain people and a certain language. For in a similar way, in Greece, the so-called Minyan pottery is ascribed to a people called the Minyans and these are credited with introducing the earliest Greek

language variants into Greece. In each case the whole argumentation rests on a vicious circle.

It is well known to anyone conversant with Anatolian archaeology that the so-called Hittite pottery is a very distinctive ware, with its peculiar carinated forms and distinct shapes, but that it was certainly not confined to the areas of purely Hittite lands. The so-called Hittite pottery had no ethnic or linguistic connotations, as everyone knows. The same is true of the so-called Phrygian pottery. I cannot imagine anyone claiming that what we call Phrygian ware was only made by Phrygians or even that it originated with Phrygians. These pottery names are useful labels, and of course we need labels, for we have to give everything a name in order to define it, but this does not entitle us to identify pottery groups with ethnic groups and with linguistic affinities or kinships.

However tempting it may appear to some archaeologists to ascribe the introduction of Indo-European language forms to a compact ethnic group, it must be stated quite clearly that this is pure phantasy. There is no necessary connection between linguistic change and the scale of migration. The arrival of a relatively small but dominant group is only one alternative. Another alternative is the gradual migration of very small kinship groups over a fairly long stretch of time to various places and different areas in Asia Minor where they settled and mixed with the native population. On this basis only can we explain the very large variety of Indo-European tongues and dialects existing side by side in Anatolia already in the early and middle second millennium B.C. Particularly with the Luvian language group it can be shown, and has been shown, that its various dialects and variants developed under the influence of the linguistic sub-strata in the different areas. Thus Luvian was not brought into Asia Minor at all, it developed within Asia Minor. In the same way, the ethnic group of the Hittites was formed only gradually within Anatolia, as we can see quite clearly from the earliest text, the Anitta document. It is quite useless to speak of Luvian or Hittite immigrations or invasions. The fact is that the language called Nesili only became Hittite after the conquest of Hattusa, and even Nesili was not a language brought into Anatolia. I do wish some Anatolian archaeologists would read their Hittite texts. The most illogical thing of all, however, remains the mixing up and confusion between languages, ethnic groups and various pottery shapes and styles.

But this is exactly what happens when we deal with the Middle Helladic period in Greece. You may say, we only use the terminology of Minyan ware as a convenient label for a certain type of pottery. But why then speak of the Minyans, as if they existed as an ethnic group or a population? Although nobody has yet seriously mentioned a Minyan language, the implication is of course that it was an early form of Greek, of undifferentiated Greek, since it is generally accepted that Greek was first introduced into Greece precisely during the period of the spread of Minyan pottery.

If we use the term Minyans for a population invading Greece at the beginning of the Middle Helladic period and causing the many destructions that can be traced by archaeology, we are again moving in a vicious circle. Who tells us they were one ethnos, one people? The destructions and invasions lasted from Early Helladic III to Middle Helladic I, i.e. at least 200-300 years. How are we to know they were all caused by one people? Yet by calling the invaders Minyans, we prejudge the issue and subconciously accept such an unwarranted assumption a priori and without questioning.

If we use the term Minyans only for the people who introduced and produced and spread the Minyan type of pottery, then we would have to assume that these Minyans were all over the Aegean. We should in fact have to call the people of Troy VI Minians too, for Minyan ware was produced there from the beginning to the end of the VIth city (C. Blegen, Troy, 1963, p. 141). But that would be manifestly absurd. In any case, the term Minyans would then cease to be the name of an ethnos or people.

May I therefore suggest that we modify our terminology: (1) Let us by all means speak of Minyan pottery, but not of Minyans. (2) Let us mention Luvian speaking populations and Luvian language groups, but not a people called Luvians.

Minyans and Luvians should be relegated to science fiction. They are both purely imaginery peoples and only exist in our imagination. They cannot even be used as labels, for this would lead to distortions. In reality they do not exist.

RECENT RE-APPRAISAL OF EVIDENCE FOR THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE DIFFERENTIATION OF INDO-EUROPEAN

by

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The aim of this paper is to consider briefly how current ideas about the development of the Indo-European language-family as a whole may affect conclusions about the late prehistory of the Aegean region. Results which are more immediately relevant may be expected from studies of the development of the Greek language itself, of its contacts with languages of adjacent areas and of possible non-Greek substrata in it. But wider study of the Indo-European language-family may provide a frame of reference within which whatever we deduce about Greek itself will need to fit.

In theory, at least, this broader comparative study may be expected to produce information about two matters of importance. The first is the absolute chronology of the process by which Indo-European developed into its primary derivatives, including proto-Greek. The second is the interrelation and relative spatial position of the dialects into which it appears to have differentiated and those of the primary derivative languages which developed from them. The importance of the first question is obvious. If we can delimit the period within which proto-Greek or «Common Greek» became a distinct language we automatically set limits to the period within which it might have been introduced into Greece (Crossland 1971 : 230, fn. 7; 1970b).

Two theories are widely accepted at present about the area in which Indo-European developed and the length of the periods during which it differentiated into primary derivative languages and the peoples who spoke them dispersed. They may be referred to for convenience as the «South East European» and the «Pontic» or «steppe» hypotheses (Crossland 1967 : 868-70/48-50; 1970a). The first holds that Indo-European developed in the Danubian and Thracian regions and also perhaps over some adjacent areas, from the Late Neolithic onwards, if not from an even earlier period (Devoto 1961 : 341-403; Georgiev 1966 : 382-95). The second suggests that it developed over the western Asiatic steppes; or perhaps in the Pontic region as a result of language-mixture there when immigrants from the steppes amalgamated with pre-existing populations (Gimbutas 1963; 1970a; 1970b : 000-000). Indo-European idioms would not have been introduced into the Danubian and Thracian regions, on this second hypothesis, until late in the third millennium. One of the arguments most used to support the South-East European hypothesis is that Indo-European would have taken some two thousand years to differentiate to the extent which it had done by the end of the second millennium; and that a continuous process of differentiation taking so long as that is more likely to have taken place among the static, late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age populations of the South East European region than in any neighbouring area.

In view of the importance of this question it is disappointing to have to say that at present there seems to be no hope of estimating objectively and with a useful degree of precision how long an originally homogeneous Indo-European language would have taken to develop into derivative groups or languages which diverged as much as Greek, Sanskrit and Hittite did when the earliest extant texts in them were composed. Some linguists

certainly seem to think that they can make intuitive judgments about the minimum time which a particular phonetic or other change in a language would have taken. But the results of intuition when applied to estimating the minimum time in which a group of cognate languages or dialects would have differentiated to an observed extent vary so much than no useful deductions can be made from them. It is disappointing, too, that the one way of treating the problem of the chronology of language differentiation which set out to be objective and scientific also seems to have failed to yield reliable results. This is the kind of study called «glottochronological» or «lexico-statistic». Its hypothesis is that the so-called basic vocabulary of any language changes at a regular rate, at least over periods of more than a few centuries, regardless of the cultural or social changes which may occur in the communities which speak it, and regardless of the amount of influence which other languages may have had upon it. As a corollary, when the average rate of change in basic vocabulary has been worked out in the case of a number of individual languages recorded over periods of some centuries, it should be possible to deduce how long a group of languages which were clearly derived from the same prehistoric ancestor took to evolve into their known forms, from the percentage of the basic vocabulary reconstructed for the ancestral language that had been replaced in them. It is to be regretted that this gallant and sophisticated enterprise does not seem to have proved successful. «Glottochronology» had produced some attractive datings for the beginning of the differentiation of language-families. In the Indo-European field it has given a date of c. 1700 B.C. for loss of contact between proto-Germanic and proto-Slavonic, which many of us will find plausible (Swadesh 1953). But it has one obvious weakness: the selection of what is to be regarded as the critical «basic vocabulary» is almost bound to be subjective. Further, in practice, its results appear to be incorrect in the case of some Polynesian languages whose vocabulary was recorded by early observers, mainly missionaries (Plath 1963; Polomé 1964; Haas 1966).

A more hopeful basis for generalizations about the chronology of language-change, including differentiation, might be analogy. If we could compare in detail languages which had developed from the same, recorded ancestral languages in historical times in cultural circumstances similar to those which we may deduce for the communities that originally spoke Indo-European, then we should have a more reliable model for our deductions about their language and its development. Unfortunately no exact historical analogue seems to be available for study. The differentiation of Latin into the Romance languages does not provide a reliable model. Latin was in an exceptional position. It was adopted by linguistically diverse populations under social pressures, but on the other hand its differentiation may have been inhibited by its use as an official and literary language. There seem to be similar special factors in the case of other languages or families which are recorded over usefully long periods (Crossland 1969 : 233).

Consequently, I think we must accept that at present linguistic comparison cannot provide reliable chronology for language differentiation, and therefore that in our field of study it cannot suggest with useful precision how early proto-Greek or Common Greek had developed as a distinct language, or decide by itself which of the two most widely accepted theories about the area of origin of Indo-European migrations should be preferred. I believe myself that there are reasons for preferring the «Pontic» or «steppe» theory. But these are not arguments of linguistic comparison in the strictest sense (cf. Crossland 1967 : 873/52; 1970b).

As a linguist, I regret these negative conclusions, but they seem realistic and should be accepted. Parenthetically, I sympathize with archaeologists and other prehistorians who are not primarily linguists over this. Linguists are unable to provide the information which would be most useful, and one will excuse the archaeologist if he shows the same sort of

impatience as the detective traditionally does in murder-stories when the pathologist cannot or will not give the absolute chronology of the death of the victim to the nearest five minutes. But I have to state the position as I see it.

Two other points may be mentioned here about the chronology of prehistoric language-change. The first is concerned with the suggestion that Indo-European and other prehistoric languages were in some way less «stable» than the earliest known historical languages. This seems to imply that they tended to change more rapidly than languages of historical periods or that their dialects were less well-defined. Whatever is implied by this assumed «instability», most linguists will discount it. There is no reason for believing that languages spoken before about 2500 B.C. were in general less systematic or more prone to sporadic variation than those which we know from that time onwards.

The second point might be called the problem of extrapolation. When we have evidence that a language was in use in an area at a certain date, how long should we assume it to have been in use there before that date? Again, I doubt whether linguistics can offer any precise, general guidance. But there is a tendency in some recent work to suggest that when a substrate can be identified within the earliest known historical language of an area, the language which that substrate reflects must have been in use in the area from very early times. («Earliest historical language» should be understood to mean the earliest which is recorded in documents extensive enough to give us a usefully full picture of its phonology and other main characteristics). This idea about linguistic substrata is a «non sequitur». In historical times one language does sometimes replace another quickly and thoroughly. So there is no reason why a language which is represented as a substrate in another should not itself have replaced a still earlier language in an area in question a relatively short time before it was itself superseded. This point seems important in connection with conclusions about the antiquity of supposed earlier Indo-European languages which are thought to be identifiable as substrata in Greek and other early Indo-European languages of South-eastern Europe. It does not imply that it is impossible to identify successive earlier toponymic strata in a language. What I doubt is whether one can make useful deductions about the length of time during which they succeeded each other. The changes in toponymy in England which Dr. J. B. Hainsworth discusses are interesting in this connection (see Dr. Hainsworth's paper in the present Acta). In a few centuries a toponymy which we may assume to have been Celtic was first modified by Latin influence and then almost superseded by Germanic names. On a separate point, it seems perfectly possible, on general linguistic grounds, that Indo-European began to differentiate as early as proto-Semitic. But it is unjustifiable to assume that it must have begun to differentiate as early and to base historical conclusions on that assumption.

If attempts to determine the absolute chronology of the differentiation of Indo-European do not look promising, there may perhaps be more hope of reconstructing its dialectology, the pattern of the relative spatial positions of the dialects into which it differentiated and of the so-called «proto-languages» which developed immediately from them. Certainly, a good deal of attention has been given to this problem in the past twenty years. Again, there are no generally agreed conclusions, but some of the observations which have been made may be interesting.

Almost all recent attempts to reconstruct the dialect-pattern of Indo-European are based on «linguistic geography», or «areal linguistics», to which Professor W. H. Wyatt also refers (see Prof. Wyatt's paper in the present Acta). Essentially, this is concerned with stating systematically the similarities, or isoglosses, between dialects of a language. Its methods have been developed primarily in work on languages such as French and Italian, which have begun to differentiate while spoken over continuous areas, if one

ignores the effects of some recent overseas migration (Crossland 1957 : 30-5; 1967 : 863-7 /43-6; Devoto 1961 : 185-6).

The observations made in this work and their corollaries for Indo-European linguistics may be stated as follows:

1. Innovations in general do not develop in groups which are confined to particular areas. Normally they develop over areas which are not coextensive, though they overlap.

2. A typical pattern of isoglosses tends to develop in dialects or languages which differentiate while still forming a linguistic continuum. In particular, dialects at the periphery of a continuous language-area tend to retain archaic features; while those in the centre tend to innovate (Bartoli 1925). This statement is concerned with what is reported as normal in languages spoken by populations which have been static for some centuries in areas within which communication is at least reasonably easy. The pattern of dialect development may well be different in a language community when part of it is in process of emigrating into an adjacent area. In this case the «residual» groups may continue to speak relatively archaic dialects, while the dialects of the emigrants are modified (cf. Wyatt, loc. cit).

3. Assuming that the pattern of dialect variation which has just been explained is the normal one, then, if we find a similar distribution of variants among the historical Indo-European language-groups, we may deduce that they are in roughly the same positions relative to each other as the dialects from which they evolved were in the original continuum. Further, if in general the historical groups appear to fall into «peripheral» and «central» sets, as defined, conclusions may be made on the basis of this classification about the archaism or otherwise of particular features, or the classification of particular language-groups whose status has not been immediately clear.

Dialectological studies of the Indo-European languages have had the following further results.

1. First, the question whether different historical Indo-European groups may reflect different phases of development of Indo-European has become important. If some groups appear to reflect relatively archaic dialects, the question arises whether these may have lost all contact with those of a «central» or «residual» group of dialects which then remained in contact themselves for some time and developed new, shared features.

2. Linked with this is the question whether Greek and Sanskrit should still be considered the most archaic, or least changed, Indo-European languages.

The classification of historical Indo-European language-groups as «peripheral» or «central» has varied, differing mainly according as morphological or lexical items are considered most significant: that is to say, according as one thinks that changes in morphology tend to occur only, or usually, as part of normal dialectal differentiation, while phonetic changes, and still more changes in vocabulary, are likely to spread easily from one section of a language-community to another. At all events, when Walter Porzig tried to work out the linguistic geography of the Indo-European on the basis of a large number of isoglosses, which were mostly lexical, the results that he reached were quite different from those which are obtained when differences in morphology are treated as most significant. (Porzig 1953; 106-8 171-4, 182-7; Crossland 1957 : 32-4, 44 fn. 46, 47, 48; 1967 : 865-6 /45).

On the assumptions accepted here, the following phenomena are of interest:

1. Five language-groups, four of which are in peripheral positions when first known, share a notable isogloss. They are the Celtic, the Italic and the Anatolian, together with Tocharian and Phrygian. The isogloss is the formation of medio-passive, passive or deponent verbal forms with endings characterized by r (Crossland 1957 : 30-1; 1967 : 865-7 45-6).

2. Greek, Indic and Iranian show close similarities in their phonic systems, notably in having at least three orders of obstruent consonants (stops), unvoiced, voiced and aspirated. They are also closely similar in morphology (Birwe 1955). Greek and Sanskrit share a system of mediopassive inflexions which differs from those of the languages just mentioned. It is characterized in present and other primary tenses by endings which terminate in a diphthong or vowel which represents earlier *-oi, or less probably *-ai; and in past and other secondary categories by endings which are mostly characterized by final *-ŏ. This system is also represented in Old Persian. It appears to survive vestigially in Germanic and perhaps in Slavonic also. This difference between the two sets of language-groups is important, because it involves morphological features which are functionally equivalent, while at the same time neither of the alternative systems can be plausibly derived from the other. This must mean either that one was primitive and was superseded by the other in a particular group of dialects; or else that the two systems developed in parallel in two groups of dialects. The generally peripheral distribution of the endings in r suggests that proto-Anatolian and the other dialects which had them were peripheral in the Indo-European continuum and may well have been carried out of it relatively early, while other dialects, including Greek and proto-Indo-Iranian, remained in contact for some time longer and developed new features in common. (H. Wagner's statement, TPhS. 1969: 217, that the r-ending is optional in Hittite is incorrect; the element r is an integral part of the regular inflections of the 1st sg. and 3rd sg. and plur. forms of the medio-passive present of the verb in «classical» Hittite of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C.; 3rd person forms which end in -a instead of -ari are rare in texts of the «classical» period and are to be explained as archaic; 1st and 2nd plural forms are so rare that the significance of variation in their inflection cannot be suggested plausibly; cf. Friedrich 1960 : 76-9, 108-13).

The conclusion that the Celtic, Italic and Anatolian groups of IE languages, and Tocharian, represent a relatively early phase of Indo-European, some of whose features survived in peripheral dialects until dispersal began, while proto-Greek and proto-Indo-Iranian belong to a residual set, so that some of the features which they share reflect innovations, suggests explanations for other differences between Hittite and Latin, on the one hand, and Greek and Sanskrit on the other. It explains the presence of a number of apparent archaisms in Hittite, and also its lack of special feminine grammatical categories and the absence in Latin of some that are found in Greek and Sanskrit notably the feminine forms of active participles. Some of the categories of the verb, as found in Greek and Sanskrit may have to be explained as late innovations, though there are reasons for believing that early Indo-European already had present, aorist or preterite and perfect tenses. It must be assumed that the original number of orders of stop consonants (obstruents) was reduced in all Indo-European derivatives except Greek and the Indic group. Finally, the hypothesis makes it natural to conclude that the principal difference between the so-called «centum» and «satəm» sets of Indo-European languages (the difference in their systems of dorsal or post-alveolar consonants) was a late development confined to a certain number of dialects within the «residual» set. It is not necessary to postulate so long a chronological gap between the dispersal of «peripheral» and «residual» dialectal groups as E. H. Sturtevant put between the assumed «branching off» of proto-Anatolian and the dispersal of other Indo-European dialects in his reconstruction (Sturtevant 1942 : 23-30; Sturtevant and Hahn 1951 : 8-9).

DEDUCTIONS FOR GREEK

If the conclusions just outlined are valid, we must class proto-Greek as a «central»

dialect, which will mean that it probably remained within the Indo-European continuum until relatively late. It will seem likely, too, that it was in contact with proto-Indo-Iranian until relatively late. This latter conclusion is supported by the phonetic isogloss which it shares with Iranian, and also with Armenian: the change of s to h. As a corollary, it will seem unlikely that Greek or proto-Greek was introduced into Greece before Hittite, or proto-Anatolian, was introduced into Anatolia, which will mean not before c2300 B.C., if we take the earliest plausible date for the latter event. It should be noted that even this date for the introduction of Indo-European speech into Anatolia is deduced from archaeological evidence. There is no direct evidence for the use of any Indo-European idiom in Anatolia before the end of the twentieth century, or the nineteenth if the earliest «Cappadocian» Assyrian texts that contain apparently IE names are assigned to that (Crossland 1967: 833/12; ans literature cited there). The indication that proto-Greek may have been in contact with pre-Iranian languages until a relatively late date is interesting. It suggests that Greek was introduced into Greece from the north-east, whether or not Phrygian tribes were settled in Macedonia or elsewhere in the southern Balkans late in the second millennium, as V. I. Georgiev has concluded.

The somewhat discouraging conclusion of this paper is that purely linguistic evidence does not do much to help us in deciding between current alternative theories about the first appearance of Greek-speaking people in Greece. It seems to be compatible with any date proposed for this event which falls between the two centuries of the third millennium and the century preceding the earliest Linear B tablets. However, since 1400 B.C. is the earliest date at which the use of Greek may actually be attested in the Aegean region, in the Linear B tablets of Knossos, it does not seem profitable to speculate whether immigrants from the north who may have arrived in the Peloponnese more than three or four centuries before that date, for example, at the end of the third millennium, spoke Greek or not. The most that we can say, if they show certain northern cultural characteristics, is that they are likely to have been Indo-Europeans of some sort. If they spoke an Indo-European language other than Greek, it might well have vanished by Mycenaean times. At the end of the period with which we are dealing, the absence of extensive substrate phenomena in Mycenaean Greek, as far as we can judge, and in Classical dialects of the Peloponnese tells against the view that Greek was not introduced there until late in the fourteenth century or early in the thirteenth. It is true that the linguistic history of England shows that a language may sometimes be totally superseded by another in a few generations. On the other hand, the evidence which Hainsworth presents (see Hainsworth loc. cit.) does not point to the kind of cataclysmic invasion which would have had such a result in Greece.

Finally, since the general import of this paper may seem pessimistic, I should make clear that my conclusions are about the present and prospective results of what may be called pure linguistic study. I mean by this straightforward comparison of linguistic features, including vocabulary. Study of the culture and patterns of society which may be deduced for different prehistoric groups of communities in the Aegean and adjacent regions, from linguistic and archaeological evidence in conjunction, may be more rewarding, and I think that it supports the theory that the Indo-Europeans dispersed from the steppes or the Pontic region, and that the earliest likely date for any Indo-European immigration into Greece is about 2300 B.C., probably a little later. However, these questions are outside the scope of this present paper.[1]

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1. The questions of general linguistics considered in this article will be discussed further in a paper entitled «Factors affecting language change» to be read to Sheffield Colloquium on Explanation of Culture

Change (December, 1971) and to be published in its proceedings, Explanation of culture change (G. Duckworth, & Co. Ltd., London; editor A. C. Renfrew), in press.
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COMMENTS

Prof. GIMBUTAS:

I would like just to add a comment: I fully agree with the date of the end of the 3rd millennium as the first appearence of the Proto-Greeks in Greece. But I would like to repeat what I see that has happened in general before that. I have already expressed my views at the Sheffield Conference. Namely, that there were several waves of the Kurgan movement. One was in the first half of the 4th. Millennium. The infiltration of the Steppe elements into the Danubian area was in the first half of the 4th. Millennium. I am, of course, an ardent supporter of the C14 dates. Thus, this incursion has finished slowly the great Old-European civilisation including the Cucuteni-Tripolje, Gulmenitza, Vinca culture and other groups. The second wave is traceable archaeologically in the Caucasus in the second half of the 4th. millennary. The Indo-European or say the Kurgan people, have had to cross the Caucasus mountains in the 4th. millennium also and appear in Trans-Caucasia. We can prove this by the appearance of the tumuli. Then we have another wave which is at the end of the 4th. millennium and probably the Anatolian people moved through the Aegean; this is very possible. This is the beginning of the early Bronze age.

And then we have the last wave, which is at the end of the 3rd millennium. So I see on the basis of the archaeological material and I think that the linguists will have to base their views of the formation of separate indo-european languages on archaeological material, too.

Prof. CROSSLAND : Reply to professor Marija Gimbutas.

At the end of my paper I was trying to define the minimum that may be stated confidently about the Indo-Europeans and their prehistoric migrations, on the basis of linguistic evidence alone. The main question involved is to some extent one of terminology. I think we should apply the name «Indo-European» to a prehistoric people whose existence we deduce from archaeological evidence, or from other evidence which is not a matter of linguistic comparison, only if we feel reasonably sure that they spoke an Indo-European language; and I take that to mean either the language from which we may deduce all known historical groups or isolated languages (e. g. Greek, Armenian) classed as «Indo-European» to have evolved, or one of the immediate (intermediate) «ancestors» of one of those groups or languages, or a lost derivative of the original «ancestral» language. We should not give the name «Indo-European» to a people of a period earlier than the time at which we think Indo-European was in existence in the form from which the historical groups and isolated languages might have developed by differentiation (i. e. the form which may be reconstructed by comparison of all the groups and isolated languages). Any deduced earlier form of Indo-European, as so defined, should be referred to as «pre-Indo-European» or «proto-Indo-European», and peoples who are thought to have spoken it should be called «proto-Indo-Europeans». In the light of the whole of the evidence, archaeological as well as linguistic, I am certainly inclined to accept your reconstruction: that the populations which developed Indo-European were living in the steppe and Kurgan regions from a time as early as the one that you mentioned; and that there may have been several successive waves of migration out of them. But I do not see how we can safely deduce that the earlier emigrations already spoke a language corresponding to Indo-European as we reconstruct it. Such earlier groups might have spoken an early form of Indo-European (as reconstructed); or they might have spoken languages or dialects of a family to which «proto-IE» also belonged, which have been lost and which were not ancestral to any historical IE group or language. They might even have spoken languages not related to IE, although they shared the same culture with peoples who developed and later disseminated IE dialects or derivative languages. So I prefer to speak of the earlier groups of migrants that you mentioned as (in periods before c. 2500 B. C.) «early Kurgan» or just possible as «proto-Indo-European» (though even that implies a deduction about their language) rather than as «early Indo-European». As for the chronology of the differentiation of Indo-European, the differences between historical IE groups and languages seem to me to reflect original dielectal differentiation within a continuum, with subsequent dispersal of the IE dialects or the languages which immediately developed from them. So I would deduce that the dispersal which produced the distribution of IE languages which we find at the beginning of historical periods occurred over a relatively short span of time.

Prof. VL. GEORGIEV :

«Prof. Crossland has began very pessimistically but he has ended very optimistically for his conception when are the Greeks for the first time attested in Greece.

It is not the 14th. Century because the tablets have a great lot of toponyms. Most of these toponyms are of Greek origin. The toponyms could not be made in two or three years. I think that there are centuries before the Greeks were in Greece.

Then, you said that there are no linguistic data about the arrival before 1900 of the Hittites in Asia Minor. No, there are linguistic data. In different documents of Semitic languages in Asia, we find Hittite names of Indo-European origin at about 2.300-2.200 B. C. These are linguistic data that Hittites-Luwians were there, in Asia Minor, at that time».

Prof. GROSSLAND:

In reply to Professor Georgiev's comments I should re-emphasize that I do not wish to suggest that there are conclusive linguistic arguments for «short chronologies» for processes of language differentiation in general or for the differentiation of Indo-European in particular. The point that I wished to make is that there are no conclusive arguments for relatively long chronologies for such processes, as has been claimed recently. In my opinion, the strong argument for dating the primary dispersal of the Indo-Europeans (the communities who spoke Indo-European as we reconstruct it on the basis of all known derivative languages) relatively late, with its main phase not before c. 2500 B. C., is that archaeological evidence indicates that the kind of economic and social conditions which would have led to rapid dispersal of communities and spread of a language existed c. 3000-2500 B. C. in the western steppes or the Pontic region, rather than in south-eastern Europe at the same time or earlier.

Regarding two particular points, first, I have suggested that from the standpoint of the linguistic evidence proto-Greek (or pre-Greek) might have been introduced into Greece at any time between the end of the third millennium B. C. and the century immediately before the one in which the earliest known Linear B tablets were written.This leaves open the possibility that Greek was in use in Greece for as long as five hundred years before the earliest attestation of the supposed «earlier Greek» toponymy that you identify in the Linear B texts. There might thus have been a considerable time during which that established or have developed in Greece before it appeared in those texts. Secondly, Dr. Carruba's identifications of early Luwian or Hittite words in cuneiform texts earlier than c. 1900 B. C. seem to me to be still «sub iudice». I certainly consider it possible that «proto-Anatolian» was introduced into Anatolia c. 2300 B. C. or a little earlier. But in all reconstruction of events of prehistoric or proto-historic periods we should work from the minimal, reliable evidence, and accept, as working hypotheses, datings based on such evidence.

Prof. AKURGAL:

«I would like to express some remarks concerning Indo-European invasion into Anatolia. The earlier date of arrival of the Hittites in Anatolia would much better conform with the Archaeological of «Alaca Hüyük».

I tried, in my book, «The Hittites» to identify the Alaca culture with the Hattian people but I must confess that I am myself not satisfied with my identification.

The Alaca culture is a very new, very fine and sophisticated culture. It should represent a new people, anyway. And for that reason, I would prefer that the date could be pushed earlier to approximately, at least, the middle of the 3rd. millennium.

Another question. I would ask the permission of Prof. Blegen to express my opinion also on Troy I-II. A personal question to Prof. Blegen if Troy I and Troy II could be considered as a new culture in Anatolia as it is totally different from all other cultures in Anatolia».

Prof. GROSSLAND:

In principle, there is no objection to conclusions based on archaeological evidence about

relatively early dates for the introduction of languages into areas under study, as at present in the case of Hittite or its «ancestor», «proto-Anatolian». It is quite possible that proto-Anatolian, or one or more dialects of languages derived from it, which were ancestral to Hittite, Luwian, and Palaic (and perhaps other cognates) might have been introduced into Anatolia c. 2300 B. C. or even earlier. But unless O. Carruba's linguistic evidence proves valid, we are just extrapolating from the fact that names which appear to belong to a language of the Hittite-Luwian group appear in cuneiform texts of the nineteenth century B. C. in Cappadocia, if we deduce that such a language was in use in Anatolia towards the end of the third millennium B. C.; and the further back we extrapolate, looking for points at which archaeological evidence suggests immigration, the less certain we can be about what language or languages might have been introduced. The rulers of the city at Alaca Hüyük c. 2300 B. C. certainly appear to have had cultural traits which are strongly reminiscent of those of later Indo-European-speaking aristocracies (as Stuart Piggott suggested in the Listener 10 Nov. 1955: 791). But unless intelligible documents are found there we cannot be sure that they spoke an IE language. Moreover, there is evidence that central Anatolia was not linguistically homogeneous even in the seventeeth century B. C. A language which we now call «Hattic» was still in use as a ritual language at Hattusas in the fourteenth century, and there are strong indications that it was the language that was current at Hattusas when the founders of the historical Hittite kingdom made the city their capital. The «Anittas Text», too, indicates unsettled conditions in central Anatolia at the time when it was composed, with conflicts between a number of small city-states. Hattic might well have been spoken in some of these, while Hittite or a form of proto-Anatolian was already in use in others. This suggests that the linguistic «Indo-Europeanization» of central Anatolia took some centuries, which will make it more difficult to deduce plausibly what language was spoken at Alaca Hüyük c. 2300 B. C. The alternative solution, to assume that Hattic was a late intruder which came into central Anatolia after Indo-European languages had been introduced there, is more complex and seems less probable.

DIE ALTEN ORTSNAMEN IM ÄGÄISCHEN RAUM

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Manche Indo-Europäisten vertreten in neuerer Zeit den für sie zwar bequemen, aber doch etwas intoleranten Standpunkt, daß Ortsnamen eine «donnée linguistique» seien, für die sie als Sprachforscher allein zuständig wären. Das würde sie einer Rechenschaftsablegung gegenüber anderen Disziplinen entheben. Doch muß man immer wieder beobachten, wie wenig sie selbst in ihren Ergebnissen übereinstimmen, und daß es sich bei dem, was sie zuwege bringen, vielfach doch nur um Hypothesen handelt, mit denen sie sich dann bekämpfen. Außerdem stellen aber die Gründungen von festen Siedlungen und ebenso deren Benennung zugleich auch historische Akte dar und bei den Orten selber handelt es sich zudem um durchaus archäologische Tatbestände. Es möge mir daher gestattet sein, daß ich mich im folgenden mit den hier einschlägigen Problemen beschäftige, was in erster Linie zwar von historisch-archäologischen Erwägungen bestimmt erscheinen mag, mir aber auch dadurch erleichtert wird, daß ich mich in jungen Jahren um das Fach der vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaften nicht ohne Eifer bemüht habe.

Aus den vorausgegangenen Vorträgen und Diskussionen sind Sie nun alle in genügender Weise mit dem Problem der Ortsnamen und Kulturwörter samt ihren Suffixen auf -nt-, -ss-, u.s.w. vertraut geworden. Ich will im folgenden diese Namen und Wörter als «Altnamen» und «Altwörter», die Suffixe aber als «Altsuffixe» bezeichnen, ohne damit aber über ihre Zugehörigkeit und ihr absolutes Alter schon etwas aussagen zu wollen.

Diese Altnamen und Altsuffixe finden sich in größter Häufigkeit in Anatolien, im Ägäischen Bereich und in Griechenland, dagegen in einer lockereren Streuung auf dem Balkan, im Bereich der Adria und im Gebiet der mittleren wie unteren Donau.

Paul Kretschmer hat diese Altnamen in seiner berühmten «Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache» alle zusammen als vorgriechisch aufgefaßt. In neuerer Zeit sind dagegen verschiedene jüngere Indo-Europäisten aufgetreten, indem sie gleichsam eine ähnliche Neigung zeigen wie einst die indo-europäischen Elemente selbst, nämlich das Streben, expansiv zu sein und möglichst viel für sich zu erobern. In diesem Sinn versuchen sie, viel Sprachgut, das sich an der Peripherie der indo-europäischen Welt findet, als indo-europäisch zu erklären. Dabei stehen ihnen die Wörterbücher des Indo-Europäischen, des Griechischen, Hethitischen, - Luvischen u.s.w. als Hilfsmittel zur Verfügung. Wenn sie darin etwas finden, das einem unserer Altnamen auch nur im Sinne einer Kling-Klang-Ähnlichkeit zu entsprechen scheint, so sind diese Forscher auch schon geneigt, hier indo-europäische Herkunft anzunehmen. So schreibt Laroche die Altnamen Kleinasiens fast alle den indo-europäischen Elementen seiner Luvier oder Hethiter zu. Palmer und Heubeck ließen die meisten Altwörter und Altsuffixe überhaupt erst durch indo-europäische Luvier nach Griechenland gelangen. Georgiev überläßt die Altnamen Anatoliens den indo-europäischen Luviern, schreibt aber die in Griechenland auftretenden Altsuffixe wie auch die meisten Altnamen seinen indo-europäischen «Pelasgern» zu, während er den Rest überhaupt als gut griechisch auffaßt.

In der Frage pro oder contra gibt es gegenwärtig eine Reihe von Indo-Europäisten die nicht nur mit Eifer und besten Hilfsmitteln als Advocaten für die Zugehörigkeit zum Indo-Europäischen plädieren, sondern zugleich auch schon Richter sein wollen. Auf der anderen Seite fehlen naturgemäß lexikalische Hilfsmittel, auch kann von einer etablierten un-indo-europäischen Sprachwissenschaft keine Rede sein. So handelt es sich hier um ein allzu parteiisches und damit einseitiges Gerichtsverfahren und darum trete ich

hier als Anwalt für die schwächere Partei, d.h. für diese Altwörter als vorwiegend nicht-indo-europaisches Sprachgut und für den Tatbestand einstiger un-indo-europäischer Altsprachen auf.

Ich kann das um so eher wagen, als ja auch die oben erwähnten Forscher, so Laroche und Georgiev, zugestehen, daß es in Anatolien und in Griechenland ursprünglich ein vor-indo-europäisches Substrat gegeben habe und daß die indo-europäischen Elemente also erst sekundär zugewandert seien.

Dabei müssen wir aber auf folgendes hinweisen: Mit Recht haben Laroche und Georgiev betont, daß die Suffixe auf -nt- und -ss- im Luvischen, im Hethitischen und in Hellas auch im Griechischen für die Bildung von Ortsnamen noch weiterhin productiv geblieben sind. Als ich 1953 für den Artikel «Prähistorische Kulturen Griechenlands» in der Real-encyclopädie die Landkarten für das -nt- und das -ss- Suffix zusammenstellte, habe ich daher besonders darauf hingewiessen, daß ich nicht nur die sicheren Altnamen eintragen würde, sondern auch Ortsnamen, die etwa bereits erst in indo-europäischer Zeit durch eine Verbindung der immer noch productiven Alt-Suffixe mit indo-europäischen Wortstämmen entstanden sein könnten (vgl. z.B. Edessa!). Ich begründete die Aufnahme indo-europäischer Namenstämme damit, daß es sich letzteren Falles gelegentlich ja um volksetymologische Umbildungen ursprünglicher Altnamen handeln könne, so z.B. bei Poikilassos, das aus Pygelassos entstanden sein dürfte. Auf derartige volksetymologische Umbildungen hat übrigens jetzt auch unser Oxforder College John Bryan Hainsworth in seinem Vortrag hingewiesen.

Nun scheinen manche Forscher zwar meine Landkarten angesehen und benutzt zu haben, nicht aber den dazugehörigen Text. Daher machen mir Georgiev und auch Herter den Vorwurf, ich hätte alle die in meinen Karten verzeichneten Ortsnamen als vor-indo-europäisch angesehen, was in Wirklichkeit gar nicht zutrifft.

Dennoch bin ich, wie ich jetzt sehe, im Ausmaß meiner Zuweisung von Ortsnamen an das Vor-indo-Europäische doch zu weit gegangen.Wie ich jetzt erkenne, liegt dieWahrheit viel eher in der Mitte. Mit andern Worten, die Zahl der Fälle, in denen die Suffixe auf -nt- und -ss- an bereits indo-europäische Stämme z. B. des Luvischen, Hethitischen und Griechischen angehängt wurden, war in der Tat größer, als ich früher angenommen habe. In diesem Sinne gebe ich Georgiev u. a. Salmydessos als eine griechische Bildung mit Altsuffix zu. Mißtrauischer bin ich gegenbüber Eresos aus ἐρέτης und vor allem gegenüber Probalinthos, das er aus griechischem Probatolithos ableiten möchte. Volksetymologisch hätten die Griechen wohl das undeutbare -linthos in ein deutbares -lithos umwandeln können, nicht aber das ihnen vertraute -lithos in ein undeutbares -litnhos. Auch die Deutung des Stammes parn- aus dem Hethitischen parna und über dieses hethitische Wort, das bekanntlich «Haus» bedeutet, aus dem indo-europäischen περι halte ich für ziemlich absurd. Wer schon auf solche Kling-Klang-Ähnlichkeiten Gewicht legt, der müßte eher an pr = Haus im Hieroglyphenägyptischen denken.

So muß ich eben doch daran festhalten, daß ein großer Teil der mit Altsuffixen versehenen Namen ebenso wie diese Suffixe selbst aus dem vor-indo-europäischen Substrat stammen.

Dafür möchte ich vor allem folgende Argumente anführen:

1. Eine beträchtliche Anzahl von alten Wortstämmen wie etwa at- in Athanai, Attanassos u.s.w., ferner lar-in Larisa, Laranda, Larynthios, Larymna, von min- in Minassos, von Knossos, von pur- in Pyrasos, Pyranthos, Puranda, von myk-in Mykale, Mykanai, Mykalessos oder von Kor-in Korinthos u.s.w. lassen sich aus dem Indo-Europäischen in befriedigender Weise überhaupt nicht ableiten. Wenn schon ein nicht-indo-europäisches Substrat vorhanden war, warum sollen dann nicht auch diese Namen dazugehören? Diese Frage dürfen wir um so zuversichtlicher stellen, als sich an Plätzen wie

Knossos, Athen, Korinth und auch zu Mykanai die Besiedlung bis in neolithische Zeit zurückverfolgen läßt.

2. Zu den Altwörtern gehören auch solche, die der Bezeichnung von Bergen, Flüssen und mediterranen Pflanzen dienen, so u.a. kyparissos, narkissos, hyakinthos and terebinthos. Nach Ansicht von Georgiev und anderen sollen solche Namen und Wörter erst von zuwandernden indo-europäischen Elementen, d.h. von Pelasgern, Luviern u.s.w. geschaffen worden sein und nicht schon vom bodenständigen Substrat. Diese Annahme halte ich aber für äußerst unwahrscheinlich. Ich glaube viel eher, daß es das Substrat war, das diese Namen und Wörter prägte und daß die Zuwanderer diese Ausdrücke vom Substrat übernahmen. Diese Auffassung liegt um so näher, als sich die erwähnten Namen und Pflanzenbezeichnungen aus dem Indo-Europäischen ohnehin nicht in zufriedenstellender Weise ableiten lassen.

3. Laroche und Georgiev haben ihre Thesen in einer Zeit aufgestellt, da die hohe Bedeutung und erstaunliche Kulturhöhe des anatolischen Neolithikum von Tschatal Hüjük und von Hacilar noch gar nicht bekannt gewesen ist. Auch das Neolithikum von Knossos, von Makedonien (hier das besonders wichtige Nea Nikomedeia) und von Griechenland selbst (vgl. nun die Forschungen von J. Evans, Rodden, Weinberg, Milojcic und Theocharis) waren damals noch nicht genügend bekannt. Gegenwärtig vermehren sich die neolithischen Fundplätze von Jahr zu Jahr. Wir wissen nun, daß Theben ins Neolithische zurückgeht. Auch der Hafenort Nauplia scheint schon damals von Bedeutung gewesen zu sein. So möchte ich meinen, daß die Thesen von Laroche und Georgiev ganz grundsätzlich daran kranken, daß sie die Bedeutung und die Kulturhöhe des Substrates unterschätzt haben.

Was nun dieses «Substrat» anbetrifft, so habe ich 1953 insoferne einen Fehler gemacht als ich die Warscheinlichkeit doch noch zu wenig betonte, daß es sich hier um ein Konglomerat von verschiedenen vor-indo-europäischen Sprachen gehandelt hat. Von Nordosten spielte ja das uns aus Keilschrifttexten bekannte (Proto-) Hattische herein, also eine Sprache, die einen mehr präfigierenden Charakter trug. Ihre Träger mögen sich zeitweise bis in den Bereich des ägäischen Meeres ausgebreitet haben. Im Etruskischen tritt uns dagegen eine vorwiegend suffingierende Sprache entgegen, die zwar von indo-europäischen Einschlägen durchsetzt erscheint aber in ihren Zahlwörtern ihrem Formenschatz und ihrer Syntax noch einen vor-indo-europäischen Grundcharakter erkennen läßt. Aus Nord-Afrika könnte gleichfalls nicht-indo-europäisches Sprachgut, vor allem nach Kreta, eingedrungen sein. Im Vordergrund scheint mir aber doch diejenige Sprache gestanden zu haben, die vor allem in Tschatalhüjük, Hacilar und wohl auch im Bereich von Sesklo gesprochen wurde, die sich auch über Kreta ausbreitete und die mit ihren Ortsnamen vorübergehend über die Adria wie über den Donaubereich ausgestrahlt haben mag. Davon dürfte auch das Ertuskische abstammen. Für den Kompositcharakter des uns hier beschäftigenden Substrates könnte übrigens der Ortsnamenschatz des Englischen ein Beispiel abgeben, der sich aus keltischen, lateinischen, angelsächsischen und romanischen Elementen zusammensetzte und sich doch als eine gleichsam homogene Masse über den größten Teil von Nordamerika, über Australien und Neuseeland ausbreitete.

4. Laroche und andere Kleinasienforscher haben zu wenig berücksichtigt, daß bereits in den Tontafeln von Kültepe um 1800 v. Chr. Ortsnamen mit -nd-, -ss- und -mn- Suffixen vorkommen, also in der vorhethitischen Zeit Kappadokiens. Auch haben diese Gelehrten zu wenig beachtet, daß es bei der Einwanderung der Luvier und der Hethiter natürlich zu Sprachmischungen gekommen ist und daß daher im Luvischen wie im Hethitischen auch Sprachelemente des Substrates (bzw. der verschiedenen Substratkomponenten) zu erwarten sind (vgl. z. B. tabarna, warscheinlich parna und vieles andere, wohl auch manche Suffixbildungen). Für den Nachweis genuin indo-europäischer

Ortsnamen im Luvischen oder Hethitischen müßte einerseits gefordert werden, daß der Namenstamm des betreffenden Wortes nicht nur eine zufällige Kling-Klang-Anhlichkeit mit einem Wort im luvischen oder hethitischen Wörterbuch aufweist, sondern daß dieses Wort auch seiner Bedeutung nach zur Ortsnamenbildung überhaupt paßt. Außerdem müßte ein solches Wort dann auch im Sprachbestand des übrigen Indo-Europäischen entsprechend als indo-europäisch nachgewiesen werden.

5. Archäologisch lassen sich indo-europäische Einwanderungen in Griechenland erst im Verlauf des Frühhelladikums d.h. in der zweiten Hälfte des III. Jahrtausends wahrscheinlich machen. In Kleinasien haben aber die Hethiter noch nicht einmal um 1800 ihre späteren Wohnsitze erreicht. Nach Auffassung von Georgiev scheinen aber seine Pelasger und ebenso die Luvier bereits am Beginn des Neolithikums oder gar noch früher nach Griechenland und Anatolien gelangt zu sein, das wäre etwa im 7. oder 6. Jahrtausend. Das ergäbe aber eine Lücke von ca drei Jahrtausenden zwischen den älteren und den späteren Abwanderungen. Eine solche Lücke wäre an sich unwahrscheinlich und würde auch schlecht zu der engen versprachlichen Verwandtschaft passen, die zwischen dem Luvischen und dem Hethitischen besteht.

6. Was nun die Suffixe betrifft, so verfügen wohl ziemlich alle Sprachen der Erde über irgendwelche suffingale Elemente. Gerade Suffixe auf -nt /d- gibt es u.a. auch bei den Negern am oberen Nil (Uganda, Ruanda u.s. w.)

Ein ortsnamenbildendes -nt kommt auch im Bereich des Lateinischen und Keltischen vor, jedoch mit Lautungen auf -antium, -antio, -ontio u.s.w. Desgleichen haben ganz verschiedene Sprachen auch -s- Suffixe.

Nun verdichten sich aber allein im Bereich von Anatolien und Griechenland solche Suffixwörter zu einer erstaunlichen Häufigkeit. So zählen wir hier über zweihundert Ortsnamen mit -s(s)- Suffix und weit über hundert mit einem -nt- (bzw. -nt- oder -nth-) Suffix. Obgleich ein großer Teil dieser Ortsnamen aus dem Indo-Europäischen oder nicht hinreichend erklärt werden kann, stehen doch Laroche, Georgiev und andere auf dem Standpunkt, daß diese Suffixe ausschließlich von den indoeuropäischen Zuwanderern nach dem Süden gebracht worden wären. Ihrer Meinung nach scheint es dem nicht-indoeuropäischen Substrat im Sinne eines off-limits überhaupt verboten gewesen zu sein, irgendwelche Suffixe zu besitzen, damit dieselben alle für die indo-europäischen Zuwanderer reserviert bleiben könnten.

Viel wahrscheinlicher scheint mir jedoch zu sein, daß schon das Substrat, genau so wie andere Sprachen der Erde, bereits über Suffixe auf -nt- und -s(s)-, und zwar auch zur Ortsnamenbildung, verfügte. Nur schloß das keineswegs aus, daß auch indo-europäische Zuwanderer aus ihrem eigenen, indo-europäischen Sprachbestand irgendwelche Suffixe ähnlicher Art mitbrachten (so z.B. -vent-?) Sie mögen dann vom Sprachgut und Sprachgebrauch des Substrates her noch besonders angeeifert worden sein, auch ihre eignenen Suffixe zu Namenbildungen zu verwenden. Im Großen und Ganzen dürfte aber doch die Übernahme der Substratsuffixe im Vordergrund gestanden haben. Denn die -nt- und -ss- Suffixe im Luvischen und Hethitischen haben im Grund doch etwas andere Funktionen als die, Ortsnamen zu bilden. Gleiches gilt vom -nt- im Griechischen. Was das -s(s)-Suffix anbetrifft, so möchte ich allerdings glauben, daß hier neben einem vor-indo-europäischen Suffix auch noch ein ungefähr ähnlich lautendes genuin indo-europäisches, d.h. genuin griechisches, eine Rolle spielte (daher auch die Schwierigkeiten mit Hymettos, Kephisos u.s.w.).

Voraussetzung für unsere Annahme wäre allerdings, daß sich derartige Suffixe von der einen Sprache zur anderen überhaupt übernehmen lassen. Aber gerade eine solche Übernahme muß ja auch Georgiev immer voraussetzen, wenn er vom «Pelasgischen» her die Ortsnamenbildenden Suffixe sogar ins Griechische übernommen werden läßt. Wenn es

aber den Griechen von seiten der Sprachforscher gestattet wird, die Suffixe von diesen hypothetischen «Pelasgern» zu übernehmen, dann müßte es ihnen doch nicht minder erlaubt sein, diese Suffixe auch direkt vom Substrat übernommen zu haben, was zudem ein viel einfacherer Vorgang gewesen wäre. So aber gewinnt man den Eindruck, als ob Georgievs indo-europäische «Pelasger» ihre Existenzberechtigung vor allem darin fänden, eine Ableitung der Altwörter und Altsuffixe vom vor-indo-europäischen Substrat zu verhindern und diese als indo-europäischen Besitz zu sichern. Nur glaube ich, daß ein solches Verfahren schließlich zu Zirkelschlüssen führen müßte.

7. Die von manchen Forschern (s.o.S.-) vertretene Ansicht, daß erst die Luvier oder gar die Hethiter das -nt- Suffix von Anatolien nach Griechenland gebracht haben sollten, scheitert allein schon daran, daß hier dann ebenso gut wie in Anatolien Namen auf -anda und -andos auftreten müßten, nicht aber solche auf -anthos, -ynthos etc.

Damit wollen wir unsere Argumentation, die nur das Wichtigste enthält, schließen, zugleich aber eine Bemerkung anfügen. Ein alter Trick der Advokaten liegt darin, daß man in einer Streitfrage, für die nicht genug Materiel vorliegt, von der Gegenseite stringende Beweise für die Richtigkeit ihrer These fordert. In Wirklichkeit können auch in dem uns hier vorliegenden Problemkreis infolge Materielmangels stringende Beweise weder von der einen, noch von der anderen Partei geführt werden. Was gewonnen werden kann sind nur Möglichkeiten, von denen die einen mehr, die andern weniger wahrscheinlich anmuten. Wie die Dinge hier liegen, glaube ich, daß sowohl der extreme Standpunkt Kretschmers wie auch der extreme Standpunkt, den Georgiev und Laroche auf der andern Seite bezogen, als das Unwahrsscheinlichere angesprochen werden kann. Als wahrscheinlich möchte ich dagegen eine mittlere Lösung auffassen, derzufolge ein großer Teil der Altwörter und Suffixe den vor-indoeuropäischen Substrat-Elementen zukommt, der Rest aber (so etwa das-vent-und mancherlei von den -ss-Suffixen, weiter eine Anzahl von Ortsnamen, schwerlich aber Kulturwörter) erst indo-europäischer Herkunft sind.

Nach den vorstehenden Überlegungen können wir uns nun auch mit den grundsätzlichen Fragen beschäftigen, die unsern Streitfall belasten, Im Süden haben wir es anerkanntermaßen mit der Welt der Hamiten Afrikas und der Semiten in Vorderasien zu tun. Irgendwo im Nordosten trieben sich dagegen ursprünglich die indo-europäischen Völkerschaften in ihrem einstigen Heimatbereichen herum. Dazwischen gab es (und gibt es z.T. auch noch jetzt) eine Zone von Landschaften, die von Völkern besiedelt wurden (und z.T. noch werden), welche weder hamitisch, noch semitisch, noch auch indo-europäisch sprachen, sondern, sogenannte Altvölker darstellen. Dazu gehören im äußersten Osten die Dravidas, dann folgen die alten Kaspier und Elamiten, die Urartäer und Hurriter, die (auch noch modernen Völker Kaukasiens und im alten Nordostanatolien die Protochattier, im Westen aber die alten Etrusker und Ligurer, am Atlantischen Ozean schließlich die modernen Basken. Man sollte nun eigentlich meinen, daß auch in Griechenland, im Ägäischen Raum und im westlichen wie südlichen Anatolien einstmals ähnliche Altvölker von einiger Bedeutung gelebt haben, wenn sie nachher auch von indo-europäischen Zuwanderern überschichtet wurden. Dafür hat man dann eben die Ortsnamen, die Kulturwörter und auch das allerdings nur in wenigen Resten erhaltene Minoische herangezogen. Aber das darf alles nicht so sein, weil einige ehrgeizige Indo-Europäisten es sich in den Kopf gesetzt haben, so gut wie alles, was sich hier an sprachlichen zu bieten scheint, als indo-europäisch zu erklären. Zum höheren Glanz der indo-europäischen Zuwanderer werden dem Substrat in diesem Bereich abgesprochen, daß es Berg- oder Pflanzennamen späteren Zeiten weitergegeben habe, und auch so gut wie keine Ortsnamen, daß es aber vor allem über keinerlei Suffixe verfügt haben dürfe, da solche durchaus den Zuwanderern vorbehalten wären, mit einem Wort, daß wir es hier mit einer Art von geistigen «Analphabeten» zu tun hätten.

Merkwürdig genug, daß gerade im Bereich dieser so unfähigen Substratelementen in Anatolien die höchste aller Neolithkulturen, auf Kreta die minoische Hochkultur der Bronzezeit und in Griechenland in der Eisenzeit die alles überragende Hellenische Kultur entstanden ist. Ziehen wir aus den Ergebnissen unserer so eifrigen Gegner die historischen Schlußfolgerungen, so würde sich ergeben, daß hier überall erst durch die indo-europäische Zuwanderung der Kulturaufstieg begonnen habe, was auf eine merkwürdige, an die einstige Verherrlichung der nordischen Rasse gemahnende Vorzugsstellung des Indo-Europäischen, ja auf eine Art von Pan-Indo-Europäismus, der sich gegen alle nicht-europäischen Kulturen wenden würde, hinausslaufen müßte.

Eine ähnliche Aufwertung der frühgeschichtlichen Rolle des Indo-Europäertums zeigt sich auch in der Neigung, welche manche Forscher veranlaßte, den gegenwärtigen Bereich slavischer Völker von Polen über die Tschechoslovakei bis zum Balkan als vom frühesten Neolithikum an bereits indo-europäisch besiedelt anzusehen. In diesem Sinne nehmen Neustupnj und andere die Bandkeramische Kultur bereits als eine indo-europäische an, und läßt jetzt Georgiev den Balkan und besonders Bulgarien schon vom ausgehenden Paläolithikum einen indo-europäischen Siedlungsbereich darstellen.

Wie immer man nun die Verbreitung der Indo-Europäer in Rumpfeuropa zu Beginn des Neolithikums aber auch auffaßt, im Hinblick auf den Mittelmeerbereich möchte ich doch den Standpunkt vetreten, daß wir es hier zuerst einmal mit bodenständigen Elementen, zu tun haben, die kulturschöpferisch in Erscheinung traten, und daß wir diesen Elementen u.a. die Kulturen von Tschatalhüjük, von Hacilar, von Sesklo, weiter vor allem die des minoischen Kreta und die der späteren Etrusker zu verdanken haben.

Natürlich braucht das nicht so viel zu bedeuten, als daß bei den Indo-Europäern auf der einen Seite und Nicht-Indo-Europäern auf der anderen erbbedingte Unterschiede in der Veranlagung das Entscheidende gewesen wären. Nein, die Unterschiede liegen primär in der Verschiedenartigkeit der Landesnatur und des Wirtschaftlichen hier im Bereich des Mittelmeeres, dort in dem der Eurasischen Weiten. Kein Zweifel, es war das Charisma der Mediterranen Umwelt, das seine Bewohner stimulierte. Warum sollen von diesem Charisma aber erst die zugewanderten Indo-Europäer stimuliert worden sein, und nicht schon vorher auch die daselbst bodenständige nicht-indo-europäische Menschheit?

ARGUMENTS FOR THE ARRIVAL OF THE FIRST NON-DORIAN GREEKS IN SOUTHERN GREECE c. 1200 B. C.

by

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The aim of this paper is to bring forward some of the arguments in favour of the view that people speaking a form of Greek immediately ancestral to the non-Dorian dialects of Greek as known in historical times only began to enter the southern part of Greece, the main area of the Mycenaean civilization, towards the end of the Bronze Age after the end of the period defined as L. H. III B c. 1200 B.C. or shortly before that date.

The view is not inconsistent with a belief that one or more groups of people of Indo-European speech had already penetrated into southern Greece in earlier times; nor is it irreconcilable with an acceptance of the Linear B script of the Aegean Late Bronze Age as some early form of Greek. Arguments in favour of this view have in fact been advanced by two people since the decipherment of Linear B as Greek was announced by M. Ventris in 1952. It is true that one of these, the late E. Grumach, rejected the decipherment;[1] but the other F. Hampl, accepts it[2]. Most of Hampl's arguments have been refuted, however, by F. Schachermeyr[3], and they will not be used here.

The belief that the people who created the Mycenaean civilization were Greeks speaking a language ancestral to some of the non-Dorian dialects of later historical times goes back to Schliemann in the 1870s. This belief was crystalized by Haley aud Blegen in a classic paper written about half a century later in 1928[4]. In this paper it was emphasized that there is no sign in the archaelogical record of a mass invasion of southern Greece on the scale required for the successful introduction and permanent establishment of a new language between the end of the Early Helladic period c. 2000 B.C. and the very end of the Bronze Age many centuries later.

The choice upon which Halley and Blegen insisted in 1928 still remains essentially valid. It is true that they rejected the latter alternative, and argued in favour of a penetration of southern Greece by the first Greek-speaking peoples at the end of the Early Helladic period c. 2000 B.C. But in 1928 very little was yet known about the end of the Bronze Age in the Aegean area. The final stage of the Bronze Age, L. H. III C, had not even been recognized and defined at that time. Now L.H. III C has emerged as an important and eventful period of history, covering about a century and a half from c. 1200-1050 B. C., and marked at the beginning by a massive destruction of Mycenaean palaces and settlements[5].

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1) E. GRUMACH, «The Coming of the Greeks», «Bulletin of the John Rylands Library» 51 (1968 - 1969)

2) F. HAMPL, «Die Chronologie der Einwanderung der griechischen Stämme und das Problem der Träger der mykenischen Kultur», «Museum Helveticum» 17 (1960) 57 - 86.

3) F. SCHACHERMEYR», «Zum Problem der griechischen Einwanderung», «Atti e Memorie del 1°. Congresso Int. di Micenologia, 1967» (Rome 1968) 298-317.

4) J. B. HALEY and C. W. BLEGEN, «The Coming of the Greeks», «AJA» 32 (1928) 141-54.

5) The approximate dates for the duration of L. H. III C and the account of events (as opposed to their interpretation) followed here are taken from V. R. d'A. Desborough, «The Last Mycenaeans and their Successors» (Oxford 1964). Mr. Desborough has kindly discussed the contents of this paper with me, and I am most grateful to him for correcting several errors. Those that remain, and the opinions expressed, are my own.

In this paper it will be suggested that this horizon of destruction at the end of L.H. III B was the work of people speaking forms of Greek ancestral to non-Dorian Greek dialects of historic times. On this view, that is to say, the ancestors of the non-Dorian Greeks of historical times only began to penetrate into southern Greece and settle there at the beginning of L. H. III C c. 1200 B. C. The Dorians followed them southwards a century or so later.

The evidence bearing upon this question is (1) archaeological; (2) anthropological; (3) linguistic; and (4) literary, traditions preserved in Homer and later Greek writers. Only the (1) archaeological and (2) anthropological evidence will be considered here.

(1) Archaeological evidence: (a) changes in burial customs; (b) appearance of primitive types of hand-made pottery alongside wheel-made wares of Mycenaean tradition; (c) radical changes in dress, associated with the use of long pins; and (d) new and simpler types of houses. It will be argued (1) that these innovations are first attested in the main area of the Mycenaean civilization soon after the horizon of destruction at the end of L. H. III B c. 1200 B.C.; (2) that they reflect the presence of invaders from beyond the area of the Mycenaean civilization, and above all (3) that they are found in non-Dorian as well as Dorian parts of Greece, and cannot therefore be regarded as exclusively Dorian in origin.

(a) Changes in burial custom. Burial in single graves (simple earth-cut graves, slab-lined cists or pithoi) is found alongside or in place of burial in family tombs of the Mycenaean type in various parts of Greece from L. H. III C onwards. In the heart of the Mycenaean world, at Mycenae itself, the new practice of burial in single graves may go back to the beginning of L. H. III C. A pithos burial and earth-cut grave above the Cyclopean Terrace House at Mycenae had decorated clay vases which Furumark assigned to his earliest phase of Mycenaean (L. H.) III C, Mycenaean (L. H.) III C 1 a[6]. These two burials belong to a class of burials on the site of a former Mycenaean settlement area to which Desborough has drawn attention[7]. Desborough, however, has shown reason to suppose that the vases found with them may belong to a later stage of L. H. III C than that to which Furumark assigned them[8]. It is in any case the fact that at Mycenae and elsewhere in the Argolid the Mycenaean custom of burial in family tombs continued to prevail until the end of L. H. III C. This could be explained on the assumption that the invaders spared large numbers of the original population and adopted many of their ways and customs. Similarly at Knossos in Crete, throughout Protogeometric, Geometric and Archaic times, the Dorian Greeks continued to bury their dead in rock-cut family tombs as the Bronze Age people of the region had done for centuries before them.

The Argolid is an area which was eventually Dorian. That is to say, even if it were admitted on the disputable evidence of the two graves on the site of the Cyclopean Terrace House at Mycenae that the custom of burial in single graves was introduced into the Argolid by invaders at the beginning of L. H. III C, it could be argued that these invaders were Dorians and not non-Dorian Greeks. But the custom of burial in single graves can be traced spreading eastwards into regions that were never Dorian. I believe that this spread of the custom of burial in single graves eastwards across the Aegaen into non-Dorian areas reflects the spread of non-Dorian Greeks into them. The final stages of this spread of non-Dorian Greeks eastwards according to tradition were stimulated by the entry of the Dorians into the Peloponnese and were subsequent to that time.

6) A. J. B. WACE, «BSA» 25 (1921 - 23) 406 - 7. A. FURUMARK, «MP» 612 - 3 type 174:1 = «BSA» 25, 406 fig. 92, from the earth-cut grave; 613 type 175:2, 615 type 181:1 = «BSA» 25 pl. LXII, 1 b, c, from the pithos burial. For the pithos, «MP» 74, 586 type 13. Cf. «Op. Arch.» III (1944) 197.

7) V. DESBOROUGH, «The Last Mycenaeans and their Successors» (1964) 40.

8) Ibid. 36.

At Athens and on Salamis cemeteries of single graves are assignable to the Submycenaean period which may begin a bit before 1100 B.C. Somewhat later burial in chamber tombs of Mycenaen type begins to be replaced by single grave burial in the Cyclades. On the island of Naxos, for instance, single graves appear, and burial in Mycenaean chamber tombs comes to an end, shortly before the time of the rise of the Protogeometric style in Athens datable c. 1050 B. C. The Submycenaean settlement by the modern town of Naxos is eventually superseded by one with houses of a new type built on a new alignment.[9]

Further east, in Ionia, the earliest horizon of non-Dorian Greek colonies has been identified at a stage in the development of Protogeometric pottery soon after its inception c. 1050 B.C. This is in harmony with the traditional date for the colonization of Ionia by non-Dorian Greeks. But if this evidence for the Greek colonization of Ionia is accepted, it suggests that some Mycenaeans at any rate were Carians. This in turn is in agreement with the evidence of the Homeric poems. For the Homeric poems are not aware of the existence of the Ionian settlements, which implies that these were not actually founded until after the Heroic Age. Miletus, site of a Mycenaean colony it seems at the end of the Bronze Age, is Carian in Homer[10].

At the same time it should be noted that some non-Dorian Greeks who came to settle in the eastern part of the Aegean area did not use pottery of Mycenaean tradition. Thus the Aeolians, who established themselves in the north-eastern corner of the Aegean, in a region that lay beyond the boundaries of the Mycenaean civilization, adopted the plain wheel-made grey wares of Anatolian type which they found in use there. This is a good parallel for what appears to have happened when non-Dorian Greeks entered the area of the Mycenaean civilization in southern Greece. For it seems that once there they adapted the Mycenaean wheel-made pottery to their needs, compelling native potters skilled in the use of the fast wheel to make vases for them in the first instance.

T a r s u s. A settlement of Mycenaeans, coming perhaps from the Argolid, from the region of Mycenae itself, was established at Tarsus in Cilicia early in L. H. III C soon after the destruction in the Peloponnese at the end of L.H.III B c. 1200 B.C.[11] These Mycenaeans may have been refugees escaping from the Peloponnese before the onslaught of the non-Dorian Greeks. They may have called themselves Daunians, the name by which the people of this region were known in later times. This name could be the same as the Danaoi of Homer. But there is no evidence to suggest that the Mycenaean settlers at Tarsus spoke Greek.

D a n a o i and Ak h a i o i / A h h i j a w a. The Greeks in the Homeric poems normally go by the names Danaoi and Akhaioi. Akhaioi may derive from the same name as Ahhijawa, a territory mentioned in Hittite records as early perhaps as the latter part of the 15th century B.C.[12] On one view, that appears probable enough, this territory of Ahhijawa is to be equated with the whole or with an important part of the Mycenaean world. The names Danaoi and Akhaioi, however, do not seem to be of Greek origin. In that case the incoming non-Dorian Greeks could have adopted these names when they settled in the area of the Mycenaean civilization owing to the glamour and prestige attached to them . Thus, in earlier times, the Indo-European people who created the Hittite state took

9) Ibid. 149 - 52.

10) J. M. COOK, «London Inst. of Class. Studies, Myc. Seminar», 16 March 1960.

11) See now E. WACE FRENCH, «AA» 1969, 136.

12) E. g. Ph. H. J. HOUWINK ten Cate, «The Records of the early Hittite Empire», «Netherlands Historical and Archaeological Inst. in Istanbul, Publ. XXVI (1970). I am most grateful to Professor R. A. Crossland for this reference and other. information on the subject

their name from the native Anatolian Hatti whom they overran. And today the people of England, which derives its name from its Anglo-Saxon conquerors, call themselves British after the pre-Roman name of the island, Britannia.

Cyprus. Two successive waves of settlers from the Aegean area are attested in Cyprus at the end of the Bronze Age. (1) A first wave of settlers with Mycenaean civilization appears in Cyprus c. 1200 B.C. Like the Mycenaeans who settled at Tarsus about the same time, these may have been refugees escaping from the mainland of Greece after the destruction of the Mycenaean palaces and settlements there by people whom I have assumed to be the incoming non-Dorian Greeks.

(2) About 1140 B.C., or not much later, a second wave of immigrants from the Aegean area reached Cyprus. These I believe were the first Greek settlers arriving in the island. Side by side with wheel-made pottery of Mycenaean tradition these new immigrants possessed some vases of hand-made pottery of primitive aspect with simple incised decoration[13]. V. Karageorghis has noted the resemblance of this distinctive hand-made pottery to that found alongside wheel-made wares in Submycenaean, Protogeometric and Geometric contexts in Attica. [14] This Attic hand-made pottery has in turn been compared with a type of pottery found in parts of the Balkans to the north of Greece.[15]

At Enkomi in Cyprus newcomers, who may be representatives of this second wave of immigrants from the Aegean area, appear to be responsible for innovations in burial customs. These newcomers arrive at Enkomi after the end of the Mycenaean period, but before the beginning of the local Iron Age, at a date according to Schaeffer c. 1150 B.C. or not much later. After their arrival earlier chamber tombs were re-used, but no new tombs of this type were dug at Enkomi. The new tombs there in the period after their arrival were rectangular cuttings in the rock, and these were filled in again after the burials had been made in them. Among the new tombs of this type were some single graves and other graves with only two bodies in them[16].

Crete. The situation in Crete seems to be roughly parallel to that in Cyprus. (1) There appears to have been an influx of refugees from the Greek mainland into Crete at the end of L. H. III B. c. 1200 B.C. (2) About 1140 B.C. pottery of the Mainland Granary style was introduced into Crete. This I would suggest may reflect the arrival of the first non-Dorian Greeks in Crete about the same time as they settled in Cyprus. It is interesting to note that this pottery reflecting the influence of the Mainland Granary style only appears to be at home in the central parts of Crete. These are in effect the parts of the island occupied by the Achaian cities in the Catalogue of Ships. The evidence of the Catalogue of Ships suggests that only the central parts of Crete were controlled by the Achaian Greeks at the time it was composed.

Catalogue of Ships. The Homeric poems in general appear to reflect a Bronze Age tradition dating from the L.H. III C period, after the first non-Dorian Greeks had entered the area of the Mycenaean civilization but before the coming of the Dorians. The fact that the islands of the Cyclades are omitted from the Catalogue of ships suggests that it must date from a time before the appearance of single graves on Naxos shortly before c. 1050 B.C. (see P.5). The Catalogue of Ships may have been composed therefore during

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13) The classic deposit of this comes from Kourion, mostly from tomb 25 (J. F. DANIEL, «AJA» 41 (1937) 72 - 5).

14) V. KARAGEORGHIS, «Nouveaux Documents pour l'Étude du Bronze Récent à Chypre» («Études Cypriotes III) (Paris 1965) 196 - 7. For Attic hand-made vases from Submycenaean and Protogeometric contexts, see E. SMITHSON, «Hesperia» 30 (1961) 147 - 78, esp. 169 ff., 174 ff.

15) V. MILOJCIC, «AA» 1948 - 49, 32 - 4. Cf. J. BOUZEK Zu einigen nördlichen Elementen in der frühgriechischen Tonware, «Acta Universitatis Carolinae» (1966) 65 - 71.

16) C. SCHAEFFER, «Missions en Chypre» (1936) 82.

the latter part of L. H. III C, after the arrival of the first non-Dorian Greeks in Crete c. 1140 B. C., but before Greeks occupied the Cyclades c. 1060 B. C.

(b) Appearance of primitive types of hand-made pottery alongside wheel-made wares of Mycenaean tradition. Hand-made pottery of primitive aspect appears during the course of the L. H. III C period in different parts of the Mycenaean world. Thus hand-made burnished pottery, often with a raised decorative band below the rim, is attested at Mycenae itself from the beginning of L. H. III C [17] A single hand-made vase with a raised decorative band of this type was found in the first of three levels of L. H. III C at Levkandi in Euboia [18]. This vase was considered by the excavators to be an import from elsewhere. The first settlement of the L. H. III C period at Levkandi was destroyed by fire. I would regard this as a settlement of Mycenaeans, as the L. H. III C cemetery at Perati on the eastern coast of Attica seems to have been [19]. But the second L. H. III C settlement at Levkandi, with its lively pictorial vases (wheel-made, however, in the Mycenaean tradition) and practice of intra-mural burial in earth-cut graves, [20] could reflect the presence of some branch of incoming non-Dorian Greeks.

Another variety of hand-made pottery, with incised instead of relief decoration, is found in Cyprus in association with the second wave of immigrants from the Aegean area c. 1140 B.C. These immigrants I have suggested were the first Greek settlers arriving to make their homes in the island. Comparable pottery has been recovered from Submycenaean, Protogeometric and Geometric contexts in Attica (see P. 8). And hand-made pottery of one kind or another, assignable to the latest Bronze Age or beginning of the Iron Age, has been noted in various other parts of Greece, at Thebes for instance, and in Crete. [21]

These hand-made wares no doubt reflect the type of pottery used by the Greeks, non-Dorians as well as Dorians, before they entered the area of the Mycenaean civilization with its painted wares made on the fast wheel. They appear to belong to a widespread family of hand-made pottery of northern tradition and ultimately of Anatolian origin. The hand-made Coarse Ware and Knobbed Ware (Buckelkeramik) of Troy VII B also belong to this family. [22] These wares seem to have been introduced to Troy by invaders from some neighbouring region of the Balkans shortly before c. 1200 B. C. [23] The invaders may have been Phrygians or Mysians, Indo-European peoples who appear to have entered Anatolia about this time. At Gordion, which was to be the Phrygian capital, hand-made black pottery suddenly appears in a horizon corresponding to that of Troy VII B. But it then disappears to be replaced by wheel-made pottery based upon earlier local traditions in the same way as the various hand-made wares of the latest Bronze Age and beginning of the Iron Age in Greece. [24]

(c) Radical changes in dress associated with the use of long pins. Long pins, which the evidence from burials suggests were often worn in pairs, one on each shoulder, are

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17) E. WACE FRENCH, AA (1969) 136.

18) M. R. POPHAM, «Excavations at Lefkandhi, Euboea, 1964 - 66 (1968) 18 fig. 34.

19) S. E. IAKOVIDIS, «Perati» (Athens 1969 - 70). The end of the cemetery is dated by the excavator c. 1075 B. C., that is to say, not long before the appearance of single graves on Naxos.

20) M. R. POPHAM, op. cit. 14, 19.

21) Thebes: «Arch. Delt. 3 (1917) 29 fig. 26 centre, 85 No. 22 fig. 60 y.

22) E. WACE FRENCH, «AA» 1969, 136. S. HOOD, «Buckelkeramik at Mycenae?», «Europa» (Berlin 1967) 120 - 31.

23) The invaders may have come in two waves, the earlier (Troy VII B 1) introducing Coarse Ware, the later (Troy VII B 2) Knobbed Ware. But this seems to be disputable (S. HOOD, op. cit. in «Europa» (1967) 124).

24) R. D. BARNETT, «CAH» new ed. II, Ch. XXX, 4.

first attested in southern Greece during L. H. III C; but they are not as yet recorded from the earlier part of the L. H. III C period.[25] These long pins, in contrast to the shorter dress pins which were in use in earlier times in the Aegean area, may have a distinctive swelling near the top of the shank. Long pins with swellings like these are related to pins further north in the Balkans, which are to be regarded as derivative versions of the long toggle pins of Syrian origin in general use in Central Europe during th Middle Bronze Age there. On Syrian and Central European toggle pins the swelling serves a fuctional purpose allowing space for a thread-hole. With Middle Bronze Age burials in Central Europe long pins are often found in pairs, one on each shoulder[26].

When long pins are found in pairs, one on each shoulder, with later Greek burials, it can be regarded as evidence for the wearing of the so-called «peplos».[27] This simple blanket-like garment came to be considered as essentially Dorian, and it is true that Dorian Greeks, conservative as they were, continued to wear this traditional type of garment after it had been abandoned by non-Dorians. But Herodotus (V. 87-8) makes it clear that the same type of pin-fastened garment was once worn by non-Dorian as well as by conservative Dorian Greeks. «In the old days», he writes, «the Greek women all wore the dress which is now called Dorian». This is in connection with the episode of the Athenian defeat on Aigina. The only man who escaped from that defeat was stabbed to death by the angry widows of his colleagues with their περόναι. As a consequence of this, the type of dress worn by women in Athens was changed so that they no longer need such dangerous instruments to fasten it. Athenian women were then compelled to adopt the Ionian style of dress, which Herodotus notes was really Carian. This Carian dress may have been descended from a variety of the Mycenaean style of dress, or from a style of dress related to the Mycenaean, since it seems likely that some at any rate of the people of the Mycenaean civilization were Carians (see P. 6).

It seems possible, although by no means certain, that the use of long dress pins, and by implication the wearing of a garment of the peplos type, were introduced to Crete by arriving there with Granary Style pottery from the Greek mainland c. 1140 B. C.[28] I have already put forward arguments for thinking that these people were the first non-Dorian Greeks to reach Crete (see P. 9).

(d) New and simpler types of houses. Primitive types of houses, long and rectangular, apsidal or oval in shape, are found in Protogeometric and Geometric times in various parts of Greece, including non-Dorian as well as Dorian areas, alongside or in place of houses of Mycenaean derivation.[29] The houses of these new types appear to have had gabled roofs instead of the flat roofs that were usual in Mycenaean domestic architecture. The new house types were also reproduced in the form of temples for the gods. Similar house types were at home in southern Greece during the Middle Helladic period, as was the custom of burial in single graves. But in the area of the Mycenaean civilization primitive house types of this kind were eventually superseded by many-roomed houses with flat roofs after the manner of houses in Crete. These primitive house types lingered, however, in regions bordering on the Mycenaean civilization like northern Thessaly, where burial in single graves also appears to have continued to flourish into the local Late Bronze Age contemporary with the Mycenaean civilization. Some non-Dorian Greek

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25) V. DESBOROUGH, «The LastMyceaneans and their Successors» (1964) 53 f.
26) S HOOD, «BSA» 63 (1968) 214 - 8.
27) H. L. LORIMER, «Homer and the Monuments» (1950) 338 f.
28) V. DESBOROUGH, op. cit. 193.
29) See J. BOARDMAN, «Greek Emporio» (1967) 35 f. J. BOUZEK, «Homerisches Griechenland (Prague 1969) 119 f., 140, 175 f.

tribes may have been living in northern Thessaly to the south of Mount Olympus for a considerable time before they entered the area of the Mycenaean civilization at the end of L. H. III B.

(2) Anthropological evidence: (a) skeletal remains; (b) appearance of the Mycenaeans and later Greeks contrasted.

(a) Skeletal remains . The careful study of these on a sufficient scale may one day prove of decisive importance in unravelling the problems of successive migrations into Greece. The study of skeletons from Submycenaean graves at Athens and Argos has suggested the presence of elements from the north among the people buried in them. It would be interesting to compare large samples of early Mycenaean (L. H. I. -III B) skeletons with those from L. H. III C and Submycenaean graves, and also with those from graves of later periods in different parts of Greece.

(b) Appearance of the Mycenaeans and later Greeks contrasted. The Mycenaean people as depicted in their wall-paintings, which range in date from L. H. II to L. H. III B, are black-haired and comparatively slight in build.[30] Foreigners who may be Mycenaeans are represented in a similar way in Egyptian paintings. In contrast to this the Greeks of the Classical period, or those that were considered by the ancients themselves as most characteristic, seem to have been of a different physical type, with fair hair, and rather large in build.[30]

Polemon, writing on physiognomy in the time of Hadrian, implies that in his day moderately fair types were still to be found in the countryside where the original Greek race had been least adulterated. «If any have preserved pure their Hellenic and Ionian breed», he is quoted as having written, «they are sufficiently tall men, rather broad, upright, well-knit, moderately pale in complexion, . . . with hair lightish brown in colour (τρίχωμα ὑπόξανθον), rather soft and moderately wavy; square face, thin lips, straight nose; eyes glistening . . . with much light in them: for the Greek has the finest eye of all peoples.»[31] An earlier writer, commenting on the beauty and grace of Theban women, notes that they have fair hair.[32] It is also recorded that among the men of Laconia fair hair and a white skin were a sign of manliness.[33]

The word involved in describing fair is ξάνθος. This can mean yellow, but is also used for shades of light brown and auburn. It can be used for the colour of fried fish, or for that of roast pigeon. But it could never have been used for black hair of the kind depicted in the Mycenaean wall-paintings.

Some gods and heroes are described by the poets as having fair hair of this colour (ξάνθος). In the Elektra of Euripides Orestes appears to have been wearing a light-coloured wig.[34] Gold was used for the hair of the great gold and ivory statues of the gods, and some of their marble statues had gilded hair. The golden hair of many of their gods suggests

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30) Evidence for this was collected by J. L. Myres, «Who were the Greeks?» (1930) 192 - 9, and A. R. Burn, «Minoans, Philistines and Greeks» (1930) 42 - 4.

31) R. FÖRSTER, «Scriptores Physiognomici Graeci et Latini» (Leipzig 1893) Vol. I, 385 - 6 (B. 32), in the Greek abridgment by the Jewish doctor Adamantios addressed to Constantius II (4th century A. D.). The passage is quoted by Myres, op. cit. 568 note 71, on whose translation the above version is based. This work of Polemon also exists in an Arabic translation (see Förster, op. cit. 242 - 4 for the equivalent passage in this).

32) MÜLLER, FGH II, 259 fr. 59 (18), ascribed to Dikaiarchos of Messenia. τὸ δὲ τρίχωμα ξανθόν.

33) R. FÖRSTER, op. cit. Vol. II, 317. Ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῖς Λάκωσι χαρακτὴρ ἀνδρίας ἡν λευκὸς χρὼς καὶ κόμη ξανθός, ὅποῖον καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἶναι ἱστορεῖ ὁ ποιητής.

34) EURIPIDES, Electra 1. 515. The locks of hair left by Orestes at the tomb of his father are described as ξανθῆς χαίτης βοστρύχους.

that fair hair was an ideal of the Greeks who worshipped them and a characteristic of some Greeks[35],

Some mortals on Attic « white-ground» vases are depicted with light brown or reddish hair, but others are dark-haired.[36] That fair hair was for many Greeks of the Classical period an ideal and not a gift of nature is indicated by the use of dyes (ξανθίσματα) to lighten the colour of dark hair. Thus a fragment from the Danae of Euripides describes idle Love, devoted to mirrors and hair dyes (κόμης ξανθίσματα) and avoiding work.[37]

On any theory of their origins the Greeks of the Classical period were a mixture. Various physical types and a wide range of hair colouring must have been represented among them. The non-Dorian Greeks who were the first to enter southern Greece may have spared or enslaved much of the population which they found there. They evidently kept some Mycenaean potters, for instance, to make clay vases for them. And they no doubt had children by Mycenaean women whom they retained as wives or concubines. Various ways of mixing with conquered populations are instructively described in stories about the colonization of Ionia by non-Dorian Greeks in the eleventh century B. C. (see P.5).

The native physical types as depicted in Bronze Age wall-paintings appear to have absorbed and outlasted the intrusive Greek type in Greece. For the Greeks of today tend to be slight of build and dark-haired like the people of the Bronze Age wall-paintings. But in the mountainous region of Sfakia in western Crete there are still to be found tall, fairhaired people, who have a good claim to be considered as survivals of the Dorian Greeks. The Dorians were thickly settled in this area, which may have been almost uninhabited before their arrival there. And there is no evidence to suggest that this difficult and comparatively infertile part of Crete was ever penetrated and settled by invaders in later times. It has indeed been thought in the past that the dialect spoken in Sfakia retained traces of Doric in it.[38]

(3) Linguistic and (4) literary evidence. These can be made to harmonize with various other interpretations of the archaeological evidence. But they are not inconsistent with the view of the coming of the non-Dorian Greeks which I have outlined here.

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35) But bronze wire, which may have been plated with gold, was used for the hair of ivory figurines in Bronze Age Crete (Evans, PM III, 432,) although the evidence of the frescoes suggests that the people were all black-haired.

36) J. L. MYRES, «Who were the Greeks?» (1930) 196.

37) EURIPIDES (ed. Dindorf), Danae fr. 324.

38) R. PASHLEY, «Travels in Crete» (1837) Vol. II, 191 - 2.

COMMENTS

Prof. VL. GEORGIEV

«We know that the texts in Mycenaean B are in the Greek language and that these texts begin with the 14th. Century, and, as I have said, there are toponyms, Greek toponyms. About 2000 of these toponyms are of Greek origin which means that the Greeks were there before the 14th. Century.»

Prof. HOOD

«Whatever my personal opinion may be it does not preclude the possibility that people speaking some form of Greek were in Greece in much earlier times, even as early as you could wish yourself. It is the hypothesis of Prof. Hampe basically

that I put forward although rejecting his archaeological arguments, which were shattered by Prof. Schechermeyr».

Prof. CROSSLAND

«I have two questions : The first point is on your personally preferred hypothesis as you deal with the difference between Arcadian Greek and the Doric dialects. The second point concerns the name «'Αχαιὸς» or «'Αχάϊος». If we agree provisionally that it is a pre-Greek name, used by non-Greek Mycenaeans, and the Hittite apparent reproduction of it shows that it goes back, at least into the 14th. Century, and if you assume provisionally that Thessaly was an early Greek area, then how do you deal with «'Αχαΐα» - «Φθιώτις», the use of the name in that part of Greece..?»

Prof. HOOD

«On the first question I would accept the orthodox view of the Arcadians being surrounded in their mountain fortresses when the Dorians, or first Greeks, came into the Peloponnese. It is simply a difference of time scale.

That, instead of allowing a limit of a thousand years between those two movements of people, one is allowing say, two hundred years. As for the second point, I'm not clear, frankly, where this place is. But when I said Thessaly, this was a short-cut. As far as I know, the frontier of the Mycenaean world; and it appeared to be quite a sharp frontier between the Mycenaen world and the barbarism, if you like, beyond it. When through Thessaly, just slightly North of the Peneios river; and, the part of Thessaly of which I was thinking, was the part to the North, in the foothills of Olympus. It seems that the Mycenaean penetration of Central Thessaly was a fairly late occurence. It wouldn't to my mind, be at all impossible, on my own hypothesis, that every tribe there was subjugated by the Mycenaeans for a time».

Prof. MYLONAS

«There are a few words that I should like to add on the archaeology part of Prof. Hood's. First of all I have to note that: «'Αχάϊα» in «Φθιώτις», of course, is not in Crete. Had it been in Crete Mr Hood would have known it well. I think that conclusions on what happened in late Helladic IIIC., or Mycenaean IIIC., are a little premature, they have been premature and Mr Densborough used them prematurely. We must now wait a little while longer and see what our German colleagues are doing in Tyrins where they found an entire courtyard which, apparently, is covered with houses, and which is going to be excavated, and then we will find out about that. Meanwhile, in Mycenae itself, I would doubt certain things. First of all, about the grave that was found on the terrace there.

You place it as Late Helladic IIIC. It has been placed Late Helladic IIIC., it has been accepted so. Well, since then we have found seven similar graves around the area where the Treasure of Atrens is, where we have houses of the Mycenaean B period. We have the occupation, in some of these houses, in the Mycenaean IIIC. period. And all those graves that have been found do not belong to the IIIC. period. And they are of those rectangular graves built with slabs — with one person in it and some figure lying inside. They do not belong to the C period. Lord Taylour found some rectangular graves with single burials in what used to be called the Citadel House, which I now call the «Wace Building». I think, we should establish this terminology and call it «Wace Building».

I did not excavate these graves. The graves around the Treasure of Atrens were excavated under my supervision. But from the evidence that I saw there, they cannot be said to belong to the IIIC. period. Fortunately, in the last year and the year before, we found an area belonging to the IIIC. period with intact field.

In the area of Mycenae we did not have, until now, a really good layer of the C period

On the early Wace's Building there was a C period but it seems as if this is a little disturbed and, until the final results come out I cannot make any definitive statement. But against the Hellenistic Tower, as we call it, in the Cyclopean Area, Tsountas allowed an area of about 25m. in length and 7m. in width of earth that he left unexcavated in order to back the Tower.

We have been excavating that area and we found out that below the Hellenistic level the field is quite Late Helladic IIIC, and that field is composed of 2,5m. of an average in depth and we have architectural remains that might belong to 3 phases. I believe that field represesents a longer period of Late Helladic IIIC, as far as years are concerned, that it has been supposed. It has been supposed as a short period of one generation at the most. Now we have the evidence that it is a longer period. And although I want to stretch it as much as possible, I cannot really stretch it to two hundred years. At the most I can stretch it to 3 generations. And if below that field we have Late Helladic IIIB period, and, as a matter of fact, we have a destruction level, and perhaps you have heard that in this destruction level, which goes to around 1200 B. C., in a small area we have found some wonderful wall-paintings, perhaps the most beautiful wall-painting that has been found in Mycenae. Here we have garments, a beautiful lady dressed in a very interesting way, not the Cretan way.

So the final thing that I must say is that both the late Dr. Werner and I have excavated graves belonging to the IIIC period and although they are very poor, and there are very few things inside, they are chamber tombs. And that seems to be the only type that I can date to Late Helladic IIIC. that has been found so far. I don't doubt about that single grave but I hate to reach a conclusion of such great scope on one single burial, one single grave.»

Prof. HOOD

«On the subject of these changes in burial customs I can't argue that there was a massive change. The important point, to my mind, is that there is any change at all, that if we do get in the Argolide, that part of the Mycenaean area, some evidence, however slight, of the appearance of this new type of single grave instead of the family chamber tomb, as early as the very beginning of the III C period.

FINGERPRINTS AND THE INDO-EUROPEANS IN GREECE

by

Prof. PAUL ÅSTRÖM and SVEN A. ERIKSSON

University of Göthenburg

The purpose of this brief paper is to demonstrate that we may use the fingerprints to show when new populations arrived in Greece.

Every human being has ten individual fingerpad patterns, but there are eight major types of fingerprints: arches, tented arches, loops, whorls, central pocket loops, ellipses, double loops and accidental patterns. The eight general types have been arranged in three major groups: arches, loops and whorls. It has been shown that the relative frequencies of these three groups vary to-day from country to country and from town to town. Actually, if you have about 10.000 fingerpad types from a single town, you would be able to determine which town it is, provided that statistics of fingerprints have been made from that town.

Last summer it was possible to obtain for the first time some statistics of the types of ancient fingerprints, when we examined fingerprints impressed in the clay and paint of Mycenaean, Minoan and Cypriot pottery and Linear B tablets. In this connection we shall not deal with the results as regards the identification of individual scribes and potters, but with the frequency and percentage of the fingerpad types.

As the material is very limited, it is not possible to draw any definite and certain conclusions from it. We may have a one-sided picture, for some of the potters may have belonged to the same family. The potters' craft was probably inherited from father to son and the general types of fingerpad patterns are also inherited from one generation to another. It is also possible that the number of loops in the Mycenaean material is too high and that some of them belong to the same scribe.

However, it is possible to show the following preliminary table of frequency of the fingerprint types from Mycenaean Greece, Minoan Crete and Late Bronze Age Cyprus (fig. 1, above). The modern statistical material is presented for comparison (fig 2, below)[1]. The result is very surprising. You see that arches are very frequent in Mycenaean Greece

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1) The statistics are taken from the following sources:

Sweden: ERIKSSON, S. A. & ROMANUS, T., Fingerblommemönstrens kvalitativa värde. Nordisk Kriminalteknisk Tidskrift, 2, 1958.

Italy: FALCO, G., Ricerche sulla frequenza e simpatia dei diversi tipi di figure papillari su 1579 individui. Atti Soc. Med. Leg., 1, 1908.

Bulgaria: ABEL, W., Die Erbanlagen der Papillarmuster. Handbuch der Erbbiol. des Menschen, III, 1940.

Turkey: ABEL, W., Die Erbanlagen der Papillarmuster. Handbuch der Erbbiol. des Menschen, III, 1940.

Lebanon: Cummins, H. & Shanklin W. M., Dermatoglyphics in Peoples of the Near East, Am. J. Phys. Anthrop., 22, 1937.

Armenia: ABEL, W., see above.

India: Collins, W., Permanence of Geographical Control over Man. London 1913.

North Japan, Ainoes: SALLER, K., Lehrbuch der Anthropologie, Stuttgart, 1961.

China: SALLER, K., op. cit.

South Africa, bushmen: WENIGER, M., Untersuchungen über das Hautleistensystems der Buschmänner. Mitt. Anthr. Gesell. Wien, 66, 1936.

Central Africa, pygmies: DANKMEIJER, J., Finger Prints of African Pygmies and Negroes. Am. J. Phys. Anthr., 5, 1947.

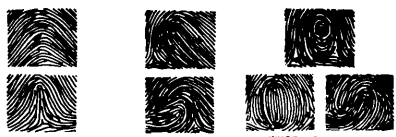
North America, Navajo Indians: Cummins, H., Dermatoglyphics in North American Indians and Spanish Americans. Hum. Biol., 13, 1947.

(20%). It is only the pygmies and bushmen that have a similar high frequency of arches (16%). Cyprus and Sweden — two countries which are nowadays so closely affiliated in a common archaeological interest — both have 5% arches as well as Italy, while Crete with its 4% has no exact parallel in this chart.

If we study the percentage of the loops, we find that the Mycenaean Greeks and the pygmies have the same frequency: 65%, while Cyprus (60%) has its closest parallel in India (61%), and Crete (42%) in China (45%).

The Mycenaean whorl-patterns are rare: 15%, exactly like the bushmen's frequency. The Cypriot frequency of whorls (35%) is paralleled in Bulgaria and North Japan, while the Minoan frequency (54%) has its best parallel in China (53%).

Combining the values into a loop/whorl-pattern index (see fig. 2), we obtain about the same figure for Mycenaean Greece (4.3) and the South African bushmen (4.6). Cyprus and India have the same index (1.7), while Crete (0.8) comes close to the index for the



	ARCHES	LOOPS	WHORL-PATTERNS
Mycenae'an Greece	20%	65%	15%
Cyprus	5%	60%	35%
Crete	4%	42%	54%
Sweden	5%	68%	27%
Italy	5%	59%	36%
Bulgaria	2%	63%	35%
Turkey	9%	55%	36%
Lebanon	3%	55%	42%
Armenia	2%	54%	44%
India	3%	61%	36%
North Japan, ainoes	3%	62%	35%
China	2%	45%	53%
South Africa, bushmen	16%	69%	15%
Central Africa, Efé-pygmies	16%	65%	19%
North America, Navajo Indians	3%	39%	58%

modern Chinese (0.9) and the North American Navajo Indians (0.7).

Since the material is limited and the work on it preliminary, one should not draw any far-reaching conclusions from it. It is, however, interesting to note that Professor Marinatos has observed mongoloid features in Minoan-Mycenaean Art, e.g. in the representations of oblique slit eyes[2]). Sinclair Hood will, I am sure, be glad to find that Mycenaean fingerprints have little in common with the patterns of Indo-Europeans of to-day supporting his theory that the Greeks came to Greece at the end of the Mycenaean period. It is however possible that the fingerprints of the scribes and potters show that they belonged to a lower class emanating from the indigenous, non-Indo-European substratum of the population. Fingerprints of the Mycenaean rulers would no doubt have given us Indo-European patterns.

Our aim is to maintain that fingerprints can be used in defining a population or race.

	Loop/Whorl-pattern index
Mycenae'an Greece	4,3
Cyprus	1,7
Crete	0,8
Sweden	2,5
Italy	1,6
Bulgaria	1,8
Turkey	1,5
Lebanon	1,3
Armenia	1,2
India	1,7
North Japan, ainoes	1,8
China	0,9
South Africa, bushmen	4,6
Central Africa, Efé-pygmies	3,4
North America, Navajo Indians	0,7

As may be seen from the chart, every country in the world has its own characteristic distribution of fingerpad types. There exist statistics, particularly from Scandinavian countries, where the general patterns vary from town to town. It would be possible to detect changes in populations in a country, if an invasion by a foreign people has taken place. It is in this respect that fingerprints may be used in prehist ·ric studies. If we can collect a sufficient number of fingerprints before and after a catastrophe, we should be able to tell whether invaders have entered the country or whether it was a natural disaster, such as an earthquake, with the same population surviving. We should therefore look for fingerprints from Neolithic, Early, Middle and Late Helladic periods to detect where the changes occur. Clear fingerprints impressed in the clay of ancient pots are rare, but they do occur now and then, so we would ask archaeologists to keep their eyes open and to record traces of ancient fingerprints. If we can establish sets of fingerprints from prehistoric times down to Classical Greece, we shall also be able to detect when new people appeared and, perhaps, when the Indo-Europeans first arrived in Greece.

2) Atti e Memorie del I° Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia, Roma 1968, 277ff.

COMMENTS

Prof. BREITINGER:

«Wie gross war die absolute Zahl der beobachtungen Bekanntlich ist von der Statistik der Satz, dass man wir ihr alles beweisen können».

Prof. ASTROM :

«As I said we have about 200 fingerprints. It is a very small number but it is all we have. It says something; we can see differences between Crete, Mycenae and Cyprus and my hope is that we shall get more material and they are there in Mycenaen pottery. But as the potters had their pride and prestig , they deleted their fingerprints. But they ha-

ve forgotten them here and there on the inside, underside of the hand les or inside the necks or in the interior of the vases. So, we have only to find them. They are there, they exist and they are very clear some of them. We have also extremely clear fingerprints on the Mycenaean tablets and we have only examined the tablets from Mycenae. I think

I can say that there are, perhaps, a thousand fingerprints still to be examined from Pylos and from Knossos. There we shall get some statistics and we shall also get information about the individual scribes.

But the work is only beginning. As far as your scepticism about the possibility of distinguishing between the modern population of today, I do not share that. In Denmark and in Sweden, very refined researches have been made, statistical material has been used of 50.000 to 100.000 of fingerprints. It has been possible to distinguish a difference between Denmark and Sweden and, as I said between towns in Sweden and between South Sweden and Middle Sweden and North Sweden. And I think and hope that we can see something similar in Ancient Greece. Now, there is one thing that is missing and that is, there is no modern statistics of fingerprint-types of Modern Greece. That has not been done. That should be easy to do».

COMMENTS

Prof. MÜHLESTEIN :

«Ich möchte den pessimistischen Worten von Prof. Breitinger einen gewissen Optimismus entgegen stellen. Ich habe im Jahre 1954 bei meinem ersten Besuch von Knossos eine Scherbe aufgelesen und auf dieser Scherbe sind mindestens 3 Fingerabdrücke und ich glaube, soviel ich als Leihe sehe, es sind alle vom gleichen Finger. Und es ist die Verzierung die man auf die Pythoi aufsetzte mit in der Druck von Hand diese Zeichen, die eine Zeile, eine trangreichen die hat man so ausgesetzt. Ich könnte mir vorstellen, dass wenn man die bestehenden Pythoi des 2ten Jahrtansends absucht, dass man darauf ganze lange Reihen, viele Hunderte, von Fingerabdrücken finden könnte das hat nur noch niemand getan. Ich zeige meinen Schüler diese Scherbe und sage! Da haben sie einen Fingerabdrück! Ich habe erst heute gelernt, dass das von einer gewissen Bedeutung sein kann.»

Prof. VL. GEORGIEV:

«In the Mycenaean tablets there are very many names of slaves, workers and masters, but almost all of these names are of Greek origin. And of Indo-European Greek origin».

Prof. MYLONAS :

(Closing the argument) : «I just want to let you know that years ago, Prof. Blegen had started the idea of collecting fingerprints from vases and tablets. I recollect Prof. Blegen and myself spending a few hours at Police Headquarters looking at Fingerprints and getting an explanation about fingerprints and I recall a very pleasant trip to Crete where Prof. Alexiou let us look at various tablets that had fingerprints on.»

NEW ASPECTS ON MYCENAEAN RELIGION

Lord WILLIAM TAYLOUR

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You may wonder what connection the title of my paper «New Aspects on Mycenaean Religion» has with the subject of this Colloquium «First Arrival of Indo-European Elements in Greece». The answer is, a very tenuous one and, at first sight, none at all. What do we know about the religion of the Indo-Europeans? Very little and even this is to a great extent pure speculation. And do we know very much more about the Mycenaean religion? By contrast, considerably more; for, although a great deal has to be based on conjecture, there exists a vast amount of archaeological material, which is capable of interpretation. And this material has been systematized and interpreted by several scholars, among whom the name of Martin P. Nilsson obviously springs to mind.

The very title of Nilsson's great work «The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion» implied some close affinity, approaching identity, between the two religions and this seems to be borne out by the surviving monuments. To mention but one aspect, but a very important one, the emphasis in both religions is predominantly upon the goddess, whether she stands for the Mother Goddess or another deity representative of some force of Nature. A god, where he can be recognised as such, is always in a minor role. This is in strong contrast with what we know of the religion of the Greeks in Classical times, and with the scant knowledge that we have of the religion of the invading Greeks in the prehistoric period. This knowledge, according to Nilsson, «amounts almost to one word only, but this one word is very important—the name of Zeus, which the Greeks share with the Indians, the Illyrians, and the Romans, and with the latter is a designation of the supreme god».* And if we accept the interpretation of the Linear B tablets, the name of Zeus and many of those of the Olympian hierarchy occur in the thirteenth century B.C.†. Now it is in this very respect that the recent discoveries at Mycenae in 1968 and 1969, within the citadel walls of the acropolis, provide an illuminating commentary. For here, for the first time in Mycenaean iconography, we find a number of male idols among a large group of terracotta figures that from various considerations must represent deities.

1. E.191/10. Stern god. Side view

This is one of the male figures. In 1970 Mr. Henry Hodges of the Institute of Archaeology, London University, examined all the figures found in this excavation. On the basis of his study he was able to establish on technological grounds which figures the potter intended should represent the male idol and which the female. For these figures are made like pots, although they have no flat base. The cylindrical body was built up with coils of clay, but the head was thrown on the wheel as a small bowl, and later collared on to the body while the clay was still soft. Then the facial features were moulded onto the bowl and the arms stuck into the body. The posture of the arms varies. In the present case the right hand is raised and the left hand passes in front of the body. Almost certainly they carried some cult object. The figures average 60 cms in height.

Now the distinguishing features between the male and female idols are two. The male has a barrel-type chest and no hair, or rather none is indicated.

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* Martin P. Nilsson, The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion, Lund 1950, Second Edition,
† J. Chadwick, The Decipherment of Linear B, Cambridge, 1958, p. 124.

2. E.191/16. "Pop-Eye,,. Side view

The female, on the other hand, has a flattened chest (as can be seen in this slide) a n d h a i r, usually rendered by coils of clay to represent three twisted tresses of hair. The arms in this case are unfortunately missing, but from the angle of the stumps they appear to have been raised. All the figures are invariably painted monochrome but in some cases certain areas of the face are reserved.

The total number of idols of comparable height found in 1968 and 1969 was 19, but several of them are only fragmentary. Of these seven are male, ten female, and two are indeterminate.

3. E.193/28. "Agamemnon,,. Restored. (Upper half)

Here is one of the last-mentioned category. It has the flattened chest of the female, but no hair. The figure does indeed have women's breasts and this, one might think, should be decisive; but the other indeterminate figure

4. E.189/7. "Menelaus,,. Front view

Which likewise has a flattened chest and no hair, does n o t have women's breasts. There are merely two pimples that represent the breasts. These two figures therefore, it would seem, were intended to incorporate the characteristics of both sexes. And there is another thing they share in common. They both have their arms raised in the same gesture.

5. E.190/4. "Monkey face,,. Front view

I have already suggested that the first of the idols that was shown to you held some cult object in his hands. Here is one, standing in a similar posture and in his right hand he holds a hammer-axe. This is another male idol, having the barrel chest and no indication of any hair. He is the tallest of them all, standing 69 cms high. He is also on stylistic grounds one of the earliest of the figures and datable to the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C. None of the others, it should be stated, is later than the latter part of the thirteenth century when the site was destroyed by a devastating fire.

6. E.193/14. "Axe-Bearer,,. Upper half

This idol also held a cult object but in a different position to the last one. It is balanced on the navel and held away from the body with outstretched arms. Unfortunately, the top part of it, above the hands, is broken; it may have been a double axe. This idol, according to the criteria suggested by Mr. Hodges, is female. It has the flattened chest and the modelled hair, here very distinctly shown as three twisted tresses of hair and two little curls on the forehead.

7. E.193/21. Conical head idol. Upper half

Another of the male figures and the second tallest. His height is $66^{1}/_{2}$ cms. His left arm and parts of the body are missing, but from the analogy of another male figure, better preserved, it seems that the missing arm came forward to meet the other one in

front of the body to grip some object. You will note the claw-like hand of the present figure.

And here I should like to draw your attention to the remarkable individuality of every figure exhibited to you so far. Many of them have characteristics in common: large noses (but not always), prominent eyes, lantern jaws, long necks; all features that describe a family cast of countenance. But within that family each one is an individual and can clearly be distinguished from another member of the group.

8. ME 28. Room 19, Broken idols

Most of the idols discussed were found in a little room, 2 metres by 2 metres, in which they had been stacked in great confusion. The three most complete examples were stood facing the wall. The rest of the figures, many of them in very fragmentary condition, were strewn over the floor.

9. GI 50. Room 18 From tower

This store-room with the idols communicates by a staircase with a much larger room to the S., which appears to have been the cult room or temple. It has many unusual features, of which one of the most striking is the asymmetrical arrangement of platforms, all of different heights. The tallest, 1.03 m. high, is in the NW corner of the room against the W. Wall. The different heights of the platforms suggest that they were intended for the display of idols of varying status and rank.

10. GI 31. Clay figure in situ (B & W)

One of the idols was actually uncovered i n s i t u on one of the platforms during the 1969 excavation of this room. In front of her was a crude table of offerings. There is the S. wall of the Store-room of the idols, the staircase leading up to it. The platform, on which the figure stands, being uncovered. The table of offerings. Here to the right, the impression left in the soil by a wooden column. There were two other columns in line with it.).

11. GI 53. Temple. Isometric Drawing

In this isometric reconstruction you see the position of the three columns and you will note that instead of occupying the central axis of the room they have been placed to one side against the staircase. In the centre of the room is a low, rectangular dais, which may have been a hearth (though no sign or burning was found on it) or possibly a libation table; it is concave. The idol, with the table of offerings in front of her, is shown next to one of the wooden columns. In the NW corner of the room, beyond the platforms and a stone sill you have the natural unhewn rock on which these two walls are built. The rock is obscured from public view by this oblique wall here. And in this triangular alcove were stored other fragments of idols, at the same time as those placed in the store-room here. There are cross-joins between the two areas.)

12. ME 55.' Room 19. Large Snake (2)

Both in the store-room of the idols and in the triangular alcove nearby, a number of clay models of snakes was found. This is one of the larger models and almost intact.

Its diameter is 28 cms. Others were very fragmentary but altogether it is estimated that there are 18 snakes, one less than the number of idols.

13. E.193/7. Snake 69-72 From Alcove

This is one of the snakes from the triangular alcove. As in the case of the idols each snake has an individuality of its own. They do not all curl up the same way and they have different expressions. But it is difficult to believe that each deity has its own familiar- its attendant snake. I have the impression that they belong to a different cult. Snakes are usually associated with the underworld and this perhaps was represented by the rock; the uncut. natural rock visible from within the temple.

I now wish to consider briefly what appear to be two other kinds of cult, which have no obvious connection with the one that I have been discussing.

14. GI 1. Mycenae 1969. Plan

I show the plan of the site at the end of the 1969 excavations. The Cyclopean Walls, Schliemann's Grave Circle is about 100 m. to the N. The idols were found in these two areas here. To the S. of this little room and communicating with it by a staircase is the Room with the Platforms, or Temple.

To the W. lies the Room with the Fresco to which is attached the Shrine. Surprisingly enough there is no direct communication between these two areas. The only approach to the Room with the Fresco is from the N. and NW. I shall be discussing first the shrine and then the Room with the Fresco.

15. E.188/33. IIIA/B Goddess

The figures that have been paraded before you till now have all been severe and forbidding of aspect. This lady is in a different category. She has elegance and charm. She belongs to a small group of four figures discovered in different parts of the site .She was found in the store-room. Their aver age height is 30 cms. All of them are painted with patterns used on pottery and it is therefore possible to date them with some accuracy. They range from the beginning of the four teenth century to the last half of the thirteenth century. This figure is decorated with a Late Helladic IIIA /B pattern and is datable to the turn of the fourteenth /thirteenth centuries.

16. GI 85. Room 32. Clay figure in situ

One of these smaller figures was found in situ in her own little shrine, placed in the corner of the room on a low, rough dais, at the foot of which was found an assemblage of 44 glass buttons of conical form. The floor was strewn with pottery much of it complete. It included the large stirrup-jar seen in this slide (before floor level had been reached) and many smaller stirrup-jars, cups and kylikes on the actual floor.

17. GI 90. Room 32. IIIB Idol

A closer view of the idol. She is decorated in the LH IIIB style and is the latest in date of the four smaller figures. The hump at the top of her head is her hair bunched up, which then falls down her back like a pony tail.

I have only time to make a brief reference to the fresco, which was in the neighbouring room to the shrine. In fact this wall here is the back of the wall, on which the fresco was painted.

18. E.183/29. Fresco. Oblique view

The fresco after removal and setting up in the museum at Nafplion. The platform in front of the fresco has been reconstructed. The painting on one of its sides is important It shows a row of solid discs, representing the ends of beams, in other words, a building. These are surmounted by three pairs of horns of consecration, which suggests that the platform stands for a shrine or altar.

The fresco portrays three female figures whom I take to be deities. The central figure, placed immediately above the platform, is the most important one, perhaps the Great Goddess. Facing her is another goddess who salutes her with what appears to be an up-raised spear. The upper part of the figure is poorly preserved. On the left is a third figure. In either hand she carries a red object which I think is the sheaf of some cereal. She is on a smaller scale than the other two figures and I take her to be a minor goddess offering the fruits of the earth to the Great Goddess.

19. GI 119. Room 31. Ivory head. Front view

Lastly, I come to this beautiful ivory head, which was found near the floor and within an earthen bench that occupied the S. side of the Room with the Fresco. It is difficult to know whether this is the head of a cult statue or not. Certainly it was fixed on to a body of some other material, perhaps wood, as can be inferred from the holes drilled in the neck; but the only indication that this figure might possibly be connected with a cult is the piercing of the ears, a feature found on certain Minoan idols and believed by some scholars* to signify that the deity hears the prayer of the suppliant.

20. GI 123. Room 31. Ivory Head. Side view (looking right)

It is a work of great beauty and so different to the other manifestations of divinity that I have been illustrating and discussing.

To recapitulate: among the unique idols discovered at Mycenae the male god is well represented. (This in itself is unusual.) Each figure, male or female, is quite markedly different in character and each one perhaps carried his or her own cult symbol. The different levels of the platforms, on which the idols must have stood, suggest that they were not all of equal rank. The tallest figure among them, a god, holds aloft a hammer axe. It may be too fanciful to see in him a representation of Zeus wielding the thunder-bolt, but the quite unexpected appearance of gods, and their importance as revealed by the recent excavations, surely finds an echo in the divine names recorded in the Linear B tablets and suggests an ultimate origin in the supreme god of the invading Indo-Europeans.

Other elements uncovered in the excavations bear a different interpretation. I assume that the enormous quantity of snake models found, almost equal in number to the divinities, is a sign of the vitality of the old indigenous religion. The shrine, where the sole occupant was the attractive little goddess, represents a more intimate style of worship. And in the large Room with the Fresco adjoining, a more sophisticated cult was practised to judge by the representations of it depicted on the wall. Both these two last-mentioned cults show us an aspect of the religion, which is more in accordance with the concepts made familiar to us by the writings of Martin P. Nilsson.

*A. W. Persson, The Religion of Greece in Prehistoric Times, 33-4

COMMENTS

HOOD

It is worth pointing out that one does have pictures of armed gods in Crete, in times which must be before the arrival of the Greeks, that is, a picture of what appears to be a god or so Evans thought, on the ceiling of the temple of Pausantris at Knossos, at the end of PM III, wearing a high hat and carrying spear and shield and with a Larnis with him, and there is of course a much more controversial statue discovered by Prof. Levi at Mitropolis, near Gortyna, of a figure in a cuirass, but the date of that is much disputed as to whether it falls in the LM I period before the destructions which seem to herald the arrival of Mycenaeans or later.

LORD TAYLOUR

I won't deny that we have male gods in the Mycenaean religion but, as I said, it does appear that he is always present in a minor role.

MYLONAS

I just want to add that from the general neighbourhood of the shrines uncovered by Taylour, from the area of the so-called House of Tsountas, we have two fragments of paintings of especial importance. These are the tablet of gypsum with the painted scene of two women adoring a divinity in the form of a figure of eight shields, and the fragment with the ass-headed daemons. Last summer, immediately to the south of Tsountas' House we excavated part of a building, to be known as «Southwest» building, among the foundations of which we found fragments of frescoes with figure of eight shields and a large one with the head and torso of a woman that recalls Eriphyle, but which we call simply «Mykenaia».

Frescoes of such brilliant quality found, not in the Palace but in this remote section of the acropolis of Mycenae by the West Cyclopaean Wall and not far from the shrines of Taylour, will add considerable strength to the conclusion that the area around the House of Tsountas was of special religious importance to the people of Mycenae. We hope to excavate and clear further the area, trusting to Lady Luck for further enlightening remains.

One of the things that I hoped Taylour would have stressed is that in the past and until recently we based our conceptions and hypotheses of the Mycenaean Religion on works of art taken indiscriminately from Crete and the mainland. With the decipherment of the tablets and the additional remains being uncovered constantly at Mycenae we should base our conceptions and conclusions only on objects found in the mainland. This will lead to different but more valid conceptions. We can no longer maintain that Minoan and Mycenaean Religions are one and the same.

PRE - HELLENIC AND PRE-INDO-EUROPEAN GODDESSES AND GODS : THE OLD EUROPEAN PANTHEON

by

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The Bird-goddess associated with water and snakes, whose features lingered in figures of Ariadne, Aphrodite and Athene; the Nature-goddess - Virgin, Birth-Giver and Bear-Mother - preserved in the figure of Artemis; and the pregnant Vegetation - goddess, known as Demeter to Greek mythology, have deeper prehistoric roots than was hitherto conceived. All three are represented in the plastic art of Old Europe, i.e. in Aegean, Balkan and Danubian Europe of 6500-3500 B. C. The god Dionysus also has a clear predecessor, portrayed naked and ithyphallic and wearing a bull - or goat-mask. A very important part of Greek mythical imagery is Old - European and non - Indo - European.

The term O l d E u r o p e is used here in recognition of the collective identity and achievement of Neolithic and Chalcolithic southeastern Europe before its civilization was severed by the aggressive infiltration of semi-nomadic pastoralists from the northeast, ancestors of the Indo-Europeans, during the fourth millennium B.C. Two maps of Old European civilization indicate the area it occupied during the Neolithic (Fig. 1) and Chalcolithic (Fig. 2) eras. Only around the Aegean and in the islands, especially on Crete, traditions of Old European civilization survive.

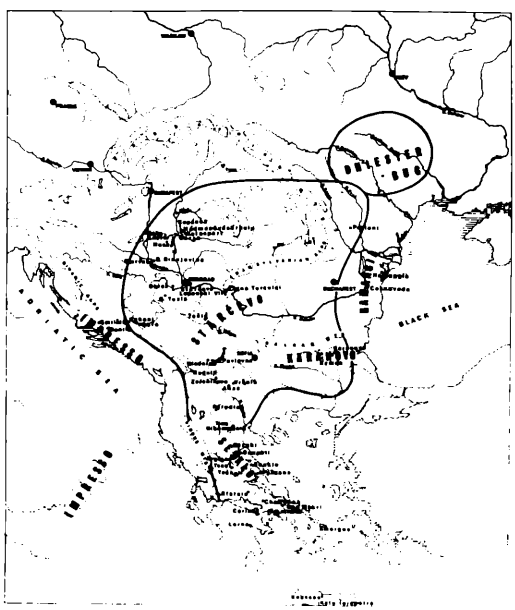
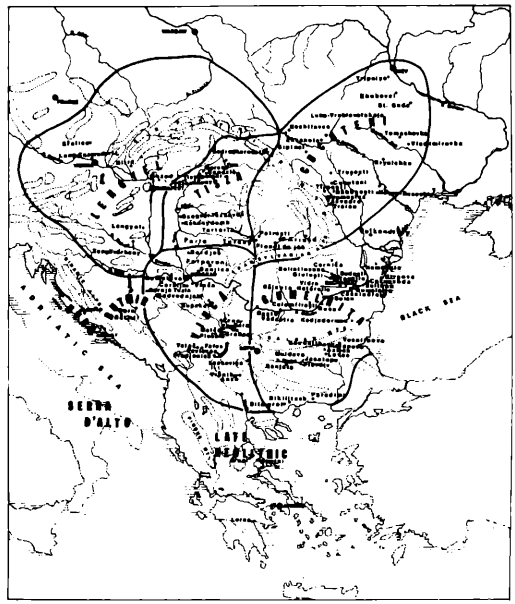


FIG. 1

FIG. 2



The legacy of Old Europe's art and religion in Mycenaean and Classical Greece emphasises the great influence of the non-Indo-European substrate. Greece and (partly) Italy are the only areas of Europe where Old European traditions survived in such strength. An obvious reason for this was a late and not massive Indo-European infiltration of the hilly peninsula of Greece at the end of the third millennium by the Steppe nomads from the north East to the much earlier and more vigorous advances into Danubian Europe.

1. THE UNIVERSAL GODDESS IN BIRD-WOMAN'S SHAPE

We call her «universal» because her presence is felt everywhere — on earth, in the skies and beyond the clouds, where primordial waters lie and where the cosmic water snake resides. She is connected with the water. Her image is that of a water bird. Her abode is beyond the waters, i.e. beyond the meandroid labyrinths. She, the bird-clawed, is born from a cosmic womb in the center of the cosmos. Both she and the snake rule over the life-giving force of water. Her image is connected with large containers for water . On Cucuteni vases her eyes, or her eyes and beak, appear above representations of water streams . Her eyes even stare from the very center of the world — a double sphere with a water snake or water stream in the center . The cosmic character of this goddess is emphasized by a series of abstract compositions painted on Cucuteni vases.

She is bird and woman; sometimes more bird, sometimes more woman. She may be a bird but with the breasts of a woman; she may have wings and the body of a bird, but the

bird-masked head of a woman. In an overwhelming majority of cases she is a hybrid having female buttocks outlined in the shape of a bird's body, female breasts, a bird's beak, wings or arm stumps and a long neck. Her standing position is that of a bird. (Fig. 3). Bird-woman hybrids vary in the degree of their schematization. The most reduced versions appear as mere ovals or buttocks with a cylindrical neck suggesting a phallus. The usual explanatory treatment of these schematic figurines involves generalized description of «fertility» or «steatopygeous» goddesses, which is too simplistic and anyway erroneous. The presence of a bird's characteristic in these figurines is most striking, and contemporaneously there occur numbers of a s k o i and small perching-bird statuettes. Bird's heads of bird-masked head appear on gables or as «chimneys» upon Starcevo and Vinca temples (Fig. 4), apparently dedicated to a Bird-goddess.

The Bird-goddess was often portrayed in a squatting position, the lower part of the body merging with the legs to form an oval «pediment» which supports a female bird-headed bust. Many figurines of goddesses in seated posture with folded legsare found in the Aegean area: the Peloponnese, Crete and the Cyclades.They have high cylindrical necks or accentuated noses (Wace 1949; Weinberg 1951).

FIG. 3

FIG. 4

During the Chalcolithic era (fifth and fourth millennia B.C.) the Bird-goddess' images shed their ornithomorphic posteriors and cylindrical necks and developed more human shapes. The sculpted Vinča Bird-goddess depicts a woman wearing an elaborate dress and a bird's mask , and during the Late Vinča period masks of Bird-goddesses became masterpieces of detail. Exquisite masks were made in imitation of the heads of ducks or other water-birds . The Bird-goddess has a lady-like coiffure: either a bun on top of the head or a pony tail. In the Gumelnita culture she was portrayed with a double-spiral or snake-coil recalling the spiralling snake-coils of the Middle and Late Minoan ladies shown in Cretan bronze sculptures and painted frescoes.

The crossed chest band sign appears on the body of a double-headed Vinča Bird-goddess in association with symbols of three connected lines (Fig. 5) and occurs incised on the stands of these double-headed goddesses. The combination of crossed chest band sign with chevrons consistently appears on schematized bird-headed or bird-masked figurines, and the same composition is encountered on clay stamps and flat plaques.

The meander was incised on bird-masked or bird-headed figurines, masks, cult vessels and altars in all cultural groups of Old Europe during the fifth and fourth millennia·

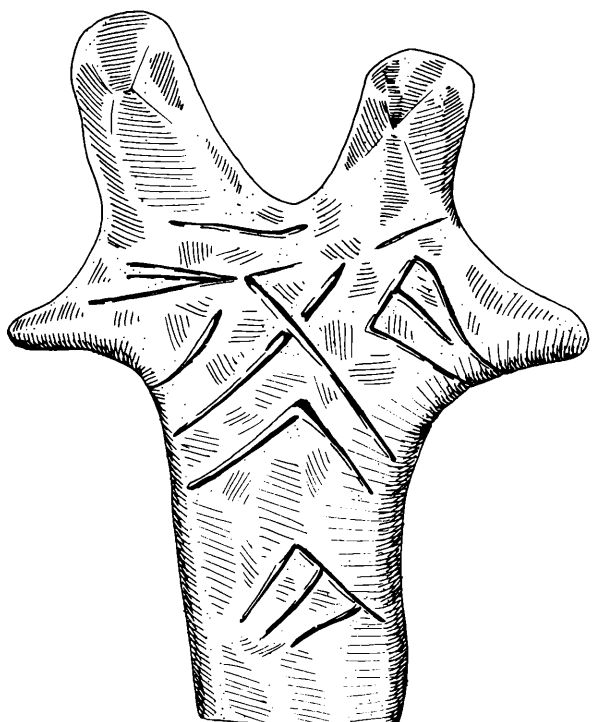


FIG. 5

Vinča statues representing dignified personages, some seated and some standing, wear a disc-shaped pendant and are marked with the meander symbol. The latter occurs either on the abdomen or skirt (front and back). The same type of incised pattern appears on masks above or between the eyes and extending down to the bridge of the nose. A series of masks was marked with meanders on the right top corner or on both sides above the eyes. A meander incised on the back of a water bird, frequent in Vinča art, implies its association both with a divinity in bird-shape and with water. A large or «double meander» originated as two opposing lines (like two snake heads meeting but not touching each other) which wound into an enormous meandering figure. This symbol can be labeled a «neolithic labyrinth». It is an enlarged version of a simple meander and it appears inscribed both on the goddess's body, pediment, throne and also on plaques.

A Linear B tablet (Gg 702) from Knossos (which was deciphered by Palmer (1965), informs us that the labyrinth must have been a symbol of the abode or «palace» of the «Mistress of the Labyrinth» (d a - p u - r i - t o - j o - p o - t i - n i - j a). This palace or cult place, i. e. the labyrinth, is thought to be depicted on a tablet from Pylos. However, the «labyrinth» of Bronze Age Pylos is not identical to those represented on Vinča figurines and plaques, but is more complicated. At least three thousand years separate the Pylian labyrinth from the «labyrinths» and meanders of the Vinča, Gumelnita, Tisza, Lengyel, Bükk and Cucuteni cultures, but the link between them is nevertheless apparent. The role of the labyrinth in games and dances was still strong in Roman, Hellenistic and even later times. The comparison of the movements of an ancient Greek dance known as the Geranos («crane») to the labyrinth itself (Heller, 1961 58), leads to an understanding of the connection between the labyrinth and its Mistress — the prehistoric bird-goddess. The crane was perhaps one of the incarnations of this divinity. The neolithic «Lady-Birds», the so-called steatopygeous figurines with shelf-like posteriors, stiff legs and long, phallus-shaped necks, perhaps represent cranes — some Vinča heads of clay or steatite are certainly suggestive of cranes, and the water-birds appearing in pictorial representations on Cucuteni B (Late Tripolye) vases are probably cranes. Two birds standing in separate panels of a «womb of the world» motif, amidst belts of water, are encountered on a vase from Zhvanets, Western Ukraine. Similar bird-shapes, with long curving necks, occur modeled in clay (cf. Dumitrescu, 1968, Plate 104). The illustrations clearly indicate that the goddess associated with the meander was indeed bird-shaped.

2. THE GREAT GODDESS OF DEATH AND LIFE

Reconstruction of the role of the Goddess of Life and Death is facilitated by the splendidly preserved tradition of Hekate-Artemis in Ancient and Bronze Age Greece and Crete. She, the strong and pure one, was the ruler of bulls and other animals and wild things; she took life and she gave life, nursed, reared, healed and protected the young. She is the goddess of primordial force. She is the Good and Terrible Mother. In her cult ithyphallic demons appeared in animal form. Animals, fruit and phalli were offered to her and orgiastic dances celebrated her. «Thitenidia» a festival of nurses and nurslings, was in her honor. Artemis appears as a bear (Bear Kallisto) or a deer-cow (Deer - cow Taygete): Athenian girls danced as bears to Artemis of Brauronia. Her sanctuaries are found at the sources of pure stream water and in lush surroundings.

Three aspects, virginity (strength, purity, association with wild things), birth-giving and life-protecting, were intertwined in the character of Artemis, and these same aspects are discernible in the image of the Neolithic-Chalcolithic goddess, and are present from the beginning of the Neolithic period in the seventh and sixth millennia B.C.

Seventh millennium sculptures of the Great Goddess from Çatal Hüyük in central Anatolia depict a massive standing or seated figure supported by leopards, a very fat woman wearing a round cap, with hands usually placed upon large breasts or on animal heads. Her similarity to Palaeolithic-Mesolithic figures is apparent. The sixth millennium goddess is more vigorous than obese. Shoulders, upper arms and breasts are accentuated and the fore-arms are folded while hands are placed on or below the breasts, characteristics which do not occur on figurines portraying Bird-goddesses or goddess of the vegetation. (Fig. 6) Folded arms are typical of figurines from the Hacilar, Proto-Sesklo and Starčevo complexes of central Anatolia, Crete, the Cyclades, the Aegean area, Greece and the Balkan Peninsula.

Five clay sculptures, very probably of the Great-Goddess, were unearthed in the largest early building at Nea Nikomedeia in northern Greece, a settlement which dates from about 6000 B.C. The building presumably was a shrine, perhaps dedicated to this goddess. The same site also yielded three frogs carved out of green and blue serpentine, the apparent vehicles of the same goddess . The Nea Nikomedeia «virgin» is a strong, standing female with broad shoulders, folded arms and hands on breasts. The head consists of a slightly flattened cylinder on which a prominent pinched-up nose is placed. The eyes are shown by incision on applied lumps of clay. The hips consist of two nearly cylindrical stout lumps, pegged together after modeling. On top of the head is a round protuberance suggesting a headdress similar to the round or conical caps found on central Anatolian figurines. Many of the Proto-Sesklo and Starčevo figurines with cylindrical necks («Rod Heads») have probably lost their caps.Other cylindrical heads reveal a circumcision around the top and a hole in the middle, suggesting that the cylindrical head of the neolithic Nature-goddess was a phallus set in a female torso. Cylindrical heads were made separately and were pegged to the torso before the clay hardened.

Hamangia figurines from Romania have pillar-shaped heads with no facial features. The huge torso is supported by strong stump legs, and the body is well proportioned, with no trace of «steatopygia» or other bird-like qualities (Fig.7). The Hamangian figurines are related to the figurines from sixth millennium Hacilar which have very strongly built bodies, muscular upper arms, huge abdomens, schematic legs and well modeled heads. They have the characteristic posture and trappings: folded arms, cupped breasts, caps, hip-belts and loincloths or aprons. The more elaborate figures have conical caps and are fully dressed, while others wear conical caps but are dressed in loincloths and hold leopard cubs.

FIG. 6

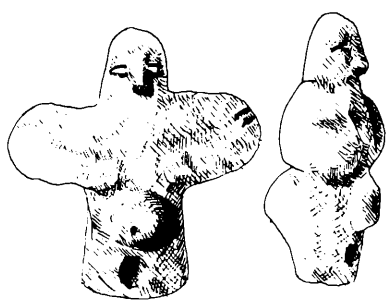


FIG. 7

Undeniable analogies exist between European and central Anatolian portrayals. Not only the Hamangian figurines are related to those of Hacilar: several fragmentary torsos from Sesklo and Chaeronea have similarly massive shoulders and upper arms . On marble figurines from the Cyclades the horizontal forearms, vertical upper arms and horizontal shoulders form a rectangular projection from the torso. Third millennium Cycladic marble figurines with folded arms, although not as massive as their neolithic forerunners, probably are stereotyped portrayals of the same goddess. Folded arms seem to represent the aspect of death.

Female figurines with folded arms appear animal-masked in the Starčevo and Vinča complexes. In the 6th millennium B.C. Starčevo settlement at Porodin a strange animal-headed figurine with two turban-shaped ears, female breasts and one arm lying on the abdomen (the other is broken) was found, possibly a nature goddess in animal form . In the Vinča settlement at Crnokalačka Bara, a number of bear-headed goddesses were found. The famous sculpture, «Lady of Vinča», painted in alternating red and black bands, wearing a pentagonal stylized mask with huge black eyes and with the right arm crossed over the front of the body, is probably a portrayal of the animal (bear) masked Great-

Goddess. Her shoulders are broad, and her right hand touches her left breast. Originally she was seated on a throne (now broken).

Fourth millennium sculptures of naked women, notably from Macedonian and Aegean sites, probably represent the virgin Nature-goddess; they rank among the most beautiful sculptures of Old Europe. The torso from the late neolithic settlement of Lerna in the eastern Peloponnese is an exquisite example (Caskey, 1956). Almost naturalistic torsos were discovered in Sitagroi, Drama Plain (Gimbutas, 1972).

The birth-giving nature goddess assumes the shape of a frog. Her image, a hybrid between woman and frog was carved out of greenstone or marble or else modeled in clay. This image is sometimes more woman than frog. In schematized versions her outspread legs and pubic triangle are accentuated and her head is a simple cone or otherwise entirely neglected. Examples include the Starčevo, Karanovo and Gumelnita marble and greenstone frog-goddesses, as well as several reliefs on Proto-Sesklo or Starčevo vases. The interpretation of these odd figurines is provided by peculiar Hacilar ladies with frog-like trunks but female chests, well modeled human heads and coifs. They hold their hands on their breasts like the standing virgins. (Fig. 8).

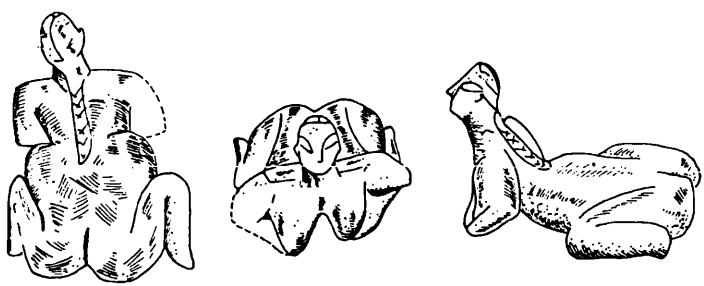


FIG. 8

The birth-giving goddess, her legs widely parted, appears in relief on the walls of Çatal Hüyük shrines. Her most frequent associations are bulls' heads or bulls' horns, and her belly is usually marked by a circle or concentric circles. The frog-woman from Anatolia was almost identical to that of the Danube River area. The relief of a figure with widely parted legs and upraised arms on a Starčevo potsherd from the site of Sarvaš in northern Yugoslavia must undoubtedly be ideologically related to the reliefs on the shrines at Çatal Hüyük. Reliefs or incised representations of female figures with upraised arms and parted legs are known on pottery from Thessaly to Romania, and in northern Hun-

gary and Germany. Figures of the birth-giving goddess engraved on vessels are known from the Bükk and Linear Danubian complexes of the fifth millennium. (Fig. 9), and in the Vinča mound a clay figurine of an upright standing frog with upraised arms and two frog-like eyes was found. The mysterious power in the body of a frog recurred consistently in the conciousness of the European people long after the disintegration of Old Europe. Ivories from Artemis sanctuary of Orthia in Sparta of sixth century B. C. Greece, were still carved in the same birth-goddess's shape.

The loving care of the bear mother made such an impression upon early European man that she became a symbol of motherhood. The Nature-goddess naturally became the bear mother. Vinča art is noted for its bear-mother figurine from Fafos in southern Yugoslavia. There are also bear cubs with large heads as well as other animal masks, presumably representing the bear. The Fafos bear-mother, shown in a seated position holding a cub, is a human mother wearing a bear's mask. There are also hundreds of figurines, particularly in the East Balkan (Karanovo) civilization, held to be portrayals of hunchbacks. Almost certainly they are not «hunchbacks», but bear-mothers carrying babies in a bag or straps passed around the neck. An articulate statuette of a bear-masked mother is known from the middle phase of the Vinča civilization, found in Supska near Čuprija, central Yugoslavia.

FIG. 9

3. THE PREGNANT VEGETATION GODDESS

This goddess can best be understood by deciphering the symbolism of her ideograms the dot (seed), ellipse and lozenge (womb and field).

A dot in the middle or in the corners of a triangle or lozenge must have been the symbol to invoke fertility, secure pregnancy or to express the idea of conception. Less abstract are the early Tripolye (Proto-Cucuteni) figurines from the western Ukraine in which the entire body and particularly the abdominal area and buttocks are impressed with real grain. The idea of pregnancy was expressed by classical Cucuteni-Tripolye people by the insertion of one or more clay balls into the belly of a fat figurine.

The triangle or lozenge is shown as an essential part of a figurine, the rest of the female body serving only as a background.

The symbol of the womb appears in its earliest stages in the European neolithic sixth millennium stone sculptures from Lepenski Vir which bear an oval-shaped representation of a womb with a seed inside.

On some Gumelnita and Cucuteni figurines kidneys or eggs (ovaries) are indicated by incision or painting, organs which may have been considered important for reproduction. The ideogram showing a lozenge with a dot in the middle or a dot within each compartment of a lozenge divided into four parts is already present on the seventh millennium stamps from Çatal Hüyük and is encountered throughout Old European prehistory on both naturalistically and schematically portrayed goddesses.

The lozenge, although placed on the human female body, is not an abstraction of the female stomach, but is a symbol of a sown field in which a new life will germinate. A series of Gumelnita figurines have a more complicated design on the abdominal area, consisting of interconnected lozenges and triangles, usually with a dot inside, incised or painted on a black-on-red background. The same pattern of lozenges and triangles with dots is found on round discs or plaques from Gumelnita settlements. Since this composite design is encountered on a pregnant goddess's belly and separately on stamps or amulets it must be an established ideogram. Perhaps it reflects a field system of East Balkan villages at approximately 4000 B.C. The ideogram suggests the sacredness of sown fields.

There is no profanity or vulgarity in dot, triangle or lozenge symbolism. These signs express the functions of the earth fertility goddess. She was responsible for the germination, sprouting, growing, blossoming and ripening of plants.

Figurines with hands held on pregnant belly or with double snakes or spirals engraved on the abdominal area were either portrayals of Ur-Demeter or were made to invoke blessings from this goddess. She sits on a throne pregnant and masked as represented in the renowned sculptures of Pazardzik in Bulgaria (Fig. 10) and Predionica (Priština), southern Yugoslavia. (Fig.11).

Seasonal festivals - Thesmophoria, Skirophoria, Thalysia in honor of Demeter, the goddess of vegetation, who caused the grain to germinate and the fruit of the earth to spring forth in due season, were widely practiced in ancient Greece. In the Eleusinian mysteries masked attendants performed rites and dances for Demeter, in the company of either Persephone or the archetypal Maiden Kore. Pigs, barley, oil, honey, poppy seeds, lamps, and incense burners were offered to her.

Prehistoric sculptures of the pregnant Vegetation-goddess and of pigs occur in considerable numbers throughout Old European civilization, and may have been produced in connection with seasonal festivals. Double figures in Vinča art, combining a larger and somewhat smaller head may be prehistoric representations of a figure analogous to Demeter and the Maiden Kore. Demeter and her Maiden Kore are pre-hellenic as clearly as Artemis, «urmythologisch» as Kerenyi would say.

4. THE ARCHETYPAL DIONYSUS

The art of the Proto-Sesklo, Sesklo, Danilo and Starčevo cultural groups is replete with representations of phalli, both naturalistic and schematic, some undecorated, some incised or painted in brown or red on cream, or in other colors. Some were made separately, others were set in female figurine torsos or attached to vessels, stems of cups or to lid handles. Their decoration and shapes range from naturalistic to most fantastic: some have a «cap», a circumcision and an opening on top and others are geometrically decorated by incision; still others spiral upwards like snakes . Hundreds of «wine cups» with phallic stems were recovered in Danilo and Butmir settlements in Adriatic Yugoslavia dating from the fifth millennium B.C. (Batović, 1968).

The concept of the fusion of the sexes, male and female, is expressed in representations of hermaphroditic figurines with male genital organs and female breasts. Such fi-

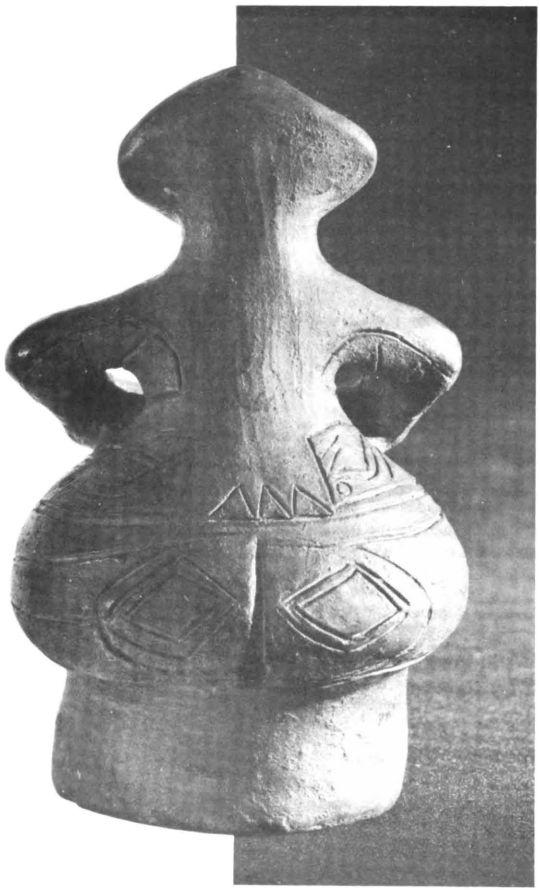
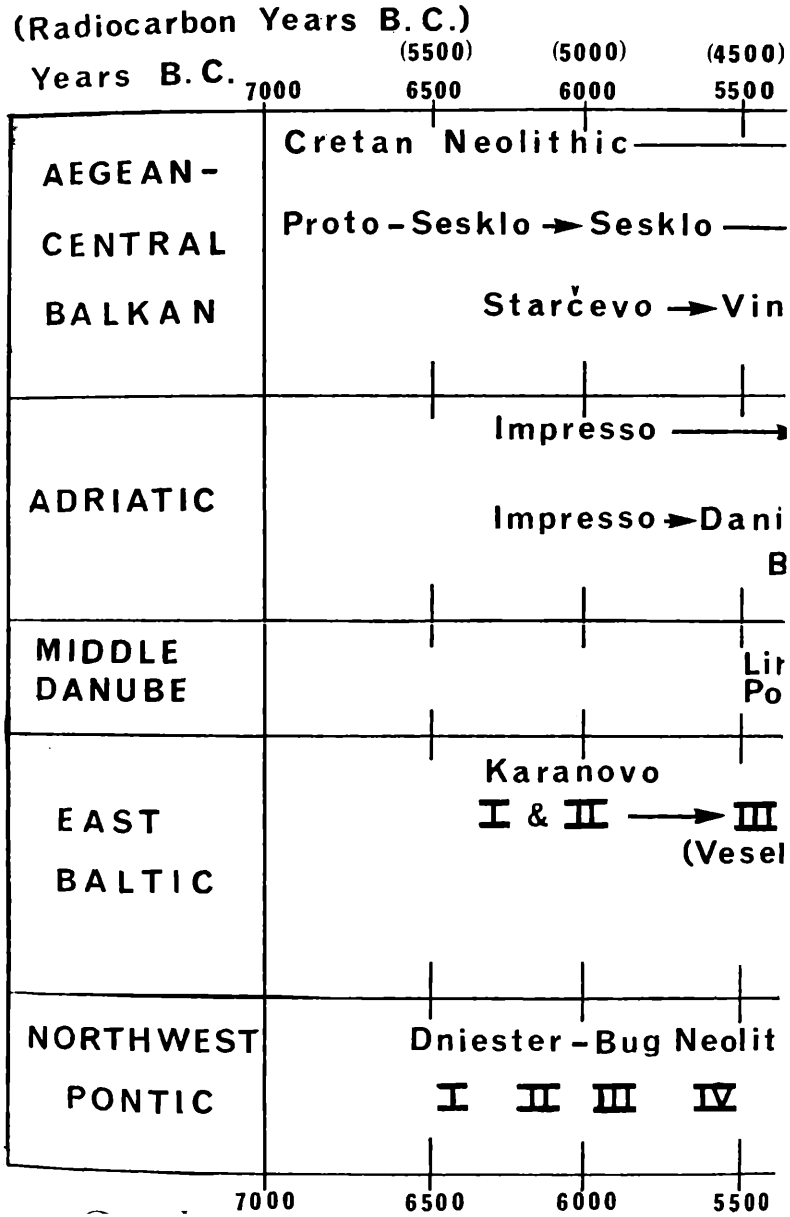


FIG. 10

FIG. 11

gures have beaked heads and sharply protruding posteriors, notably in Early Vinca art. It is apparent that the universal Bird-goddess can be bisexual! In the beginning of all life there is no dichotomy. This explains why there are so many long cylindrical necks in the neolithic Proto-Sesklo, Starčevo and Karanovo complexes of around 6000 B.C. The neck of a water-bird is phallus. This likewise explains why the Bird-goddess assumes a shape of a crane, a duck or a diver bird, and why she is associated with the water snake for the snake is also a phallus. It is widely conceived in mythical thought that the myste-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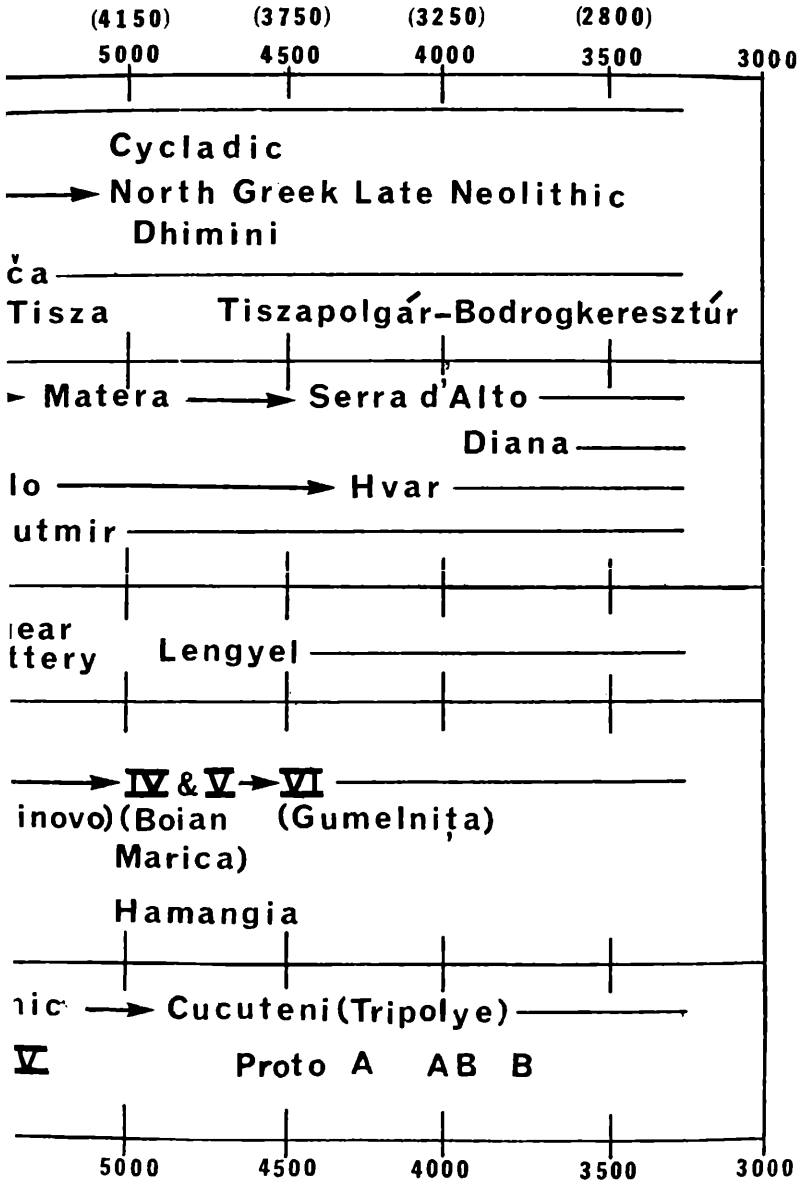
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ry of life lies in water, in oceans, deep seas, lakes or rivers. Gods are born from water. Dionysus comes from water, Aphrodite too. On pictorial Cucuteni vases we see bird-clawed gods born in the womb of mythical waters. To the poets and philosophers of ancient Greece water or dampness was the primordial element with the capacity to produce life, to stimulate its growth and nurture it with damp warmth. The idea of the genesis of the universe from water goes back to the neolithic era. (or even earlier). The mythical water snake, water-bird's neck and phallus are vehicles of an energy which has its source in water. High cyclindrial necks are regularly encountered in the figurine art of the seventh and sixth millennia. Not only the Bird-goddess, but also the Nature-goddess, the symbol of all living things in wild nature, has a long cylindrical neck. Her strength is thus assured. Many Cretan, Proto-Sesklo, Starčevo, Hamangia figurines display these features; they are hybrids.

The presence of the phallus as a decorated stand, as the stem of a wine cup, as a snake, and the neck of the Bird-goddess was as necessary as the appearance and action of the god himself, the god of procreation, the Ur-Dionysus. His energy, like electricity, had to flow and to «charge» the world, impregnating it with the power, the essence of this god and the very cause of his existence.

The existence of Dionysiac festivals in prehistoric Old Europe is certain. Ecstatic dancers, masked and ithyphallic, such as seen in Vinča sculptures like that from Fafos at Kosovska Mitrovica in southern Yugoslavia, or in standing ithyphallic figures naked or in a festival attire can only be interpreted as representations of archetypal Dionysus or his ecstatic attendants. He, the phallus, the snake, the crane's neck, appears in a human shape to perform in a festival dedicated to him. His anthropomorphic portrayals show him standing, or more often, on a throne, (Fig. 12), a posture which recurs in all phases and cultural areas of Old Europe. His head, when preserved, wears the mask of a bull or another horned animal, he-goat or ram. His animal mask has however large human eyes and his vigorous shoulders are sometimes shaped as a bull's; in some figures

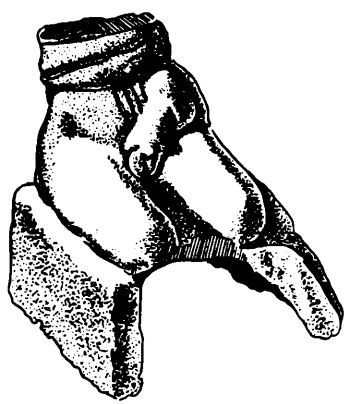

FIG. 12

the entire body is modeled in imitation of a bull's, a feature common to the Late Vinča sculptural repertory from Valač in Kosovo Metohije. The large-eyed human-headed bulls seem to be pre-historic ancestors of Chirons, wise centaurs. The bull's strength was shown to be concentrated in his rumps: they are enormous and snakes are usually incised upon them.

There is no other animal so frequently represented in neolithic and chalcolithic art as the bull. His strength, often symbolized by his horns, is emphasized. The bull was chosen as the most impressive domesticated beast, replete with mysterious power of fecundity, and at the same time as a raging and dangerous animal. The essential characteristics of the bull best corresponded to the dual nature of Dionysus, encompassing two elements, procreation and destruction, ecstasy and death.

Discussions about the origin of Greek Dionysus – whether he entered Greek tradition late from Asia Minor, Thrace or Crete — are meaningless in view of the abundance of phalli, bulls and masked ithyphallic male figures in Old European art throughout three millennia: Dionysus is a pre-Indo-European god of great antiquity. The cult of Dionysus in Greece down to the 2nd century B.C. and later, furnished with temples, phalli and sculptures of a nude seated Dionysus, witness the continuity of a tradition which must have had very strong roots in local soil. Both, the Greek and the prehistoric Dionysus, have left records of a similar mythical image: Dionysus was a bull-man or bull-god, wine-god, a god of ecstatic and ravaging nature. Brimming with virility he stimulates life. He is the god of women.

The apparent central idea of ritual drama of an agriculturalist of Old Europe was the «sacred marriage», the ritual coition of the male god and a female goddess, the goddess of nature or vegetation. The life energy must be created anew every year at the cult festival.

Sculptures of a «worrying god» in a seated position, his head supported by his arms, are known from the Hamangia, Gumelnita and Cucuteni civilizations. They may represent the contrary aspect of Dionysus, inseparable from the idea of dying nature. The Hamangia «worrying god» was found in a grave in the cemetery of Cernavoda together with a female goddess, probably the Great-Goddess, or Vegetation Goddess, who also is dualistic.

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COMMENTS

Prof. MARINATOS:

«I should like to add only that among these figurines that were shown to us, we have a type a lady which is a little lame and who is almost always pierced.

These figurines may represent a special category of the swinging «ritus» which is the «ritus» of fertility.

In Aghia Triada we have found both the statuette and the rest of the swing. Alone, the statuette is not to be explained owing to this curious position, but together with the swing everything is clear«»

A NOTE ON THE SUFFIX -S/S/OS IN THE LINEAR B TEXTS

by

Prof. HR. ILIEVSKI

In his numerous articles and books, for a long time Professor Georgiev has been trying to prove, contrary to his professor Kretschmer, that the pre-Greek substrate was Indo-European, or better— Pelasgian. The recent investigations on this subject provide support to the thesis of the I.—E. origin of the Greek substrate, but the data speak in favour of the Anatolian /Hittite/ type more than of the Pelasgian. In the paper, presented to this Colloquium, as in his last publications on this matter, Professor Georgiev combines both the Pelasgian and Anatolian theories.

Among the most significant linguistic features and survivals in Greek from the pre-Greek substrate are obviously the suffixes -σ(σ)ος - ττος and -νθ-, which correspond to the Anatolian -S-S-, assos, and -nd- formations. As it has been already stressed, they are typical for place-names, cf. Παρνασ(σ)ός, Ἀλικαρνασσός, Κόρινθος, Kuriwanda, etc., but they also appear in personal names, and names of trees, flowers and other cultural objects, e.g. κυπάρισσος, θάλασσα, κολοσσός, τερέβινθος, ἀσάμινθος, etc.

The origin of these suffixes has often been discussed during the last century and there are different theories which attempt to explain them,[1] but the problem has not been definitely solved yet. The Mediterranean languages of the third and second millennium B. C., which are supposed to have served as a substratum, have not survived. We know of them only through their loan words in other languages, where they may have undergone modifications by phonetic and pseudo-etymological pressures.[2] Therefore in the reconstructions of these Mediterranean languages much is hypothetical and unproved.

In the following note I am not going to consider these theories. I have a very restricted scope — to discuss briefly only the question how the suffix -s/s/os is represented in the Mycenaean Linear B texts, which might throw some light at least on the chronology of this suffix in Greek.

Some words of Aegean origin which in later Greek have double or single -s/s/-, in Mycenaean are spelt with —s—, e.g. : ku-te-so κύτισος, adj. ku-te-se-jo-ja; the place-name and the tree ku-pa-ri-so κυπάρισσος, ethn. ku-pa-ri-si-jo and the adjective ku-pa-ri-se-ja of «cypress wood». Along with the well known place-names: ko-no-so Κνωσός, a-mi-ni-so Ἀμνισός, tu-ri-so Τυλισός, etc., a number of personal names in -s/s/os also occur on the tablets, e.g.: pa-na-so Παρνασ(σ)ός, pu-ra-so Πύρασος, ke-ra-so Κερασὼ f., etc. There are about 70 personal names in -aso, -eso, -iso, -oso, -uso, from which only 14 are from Pylos, 4-5 from Mycenae,[3] and all the others are from Knossos.

The suffix -s/s/os has also been assumed in the Linear B ending -zo -za,[4] which appears in about 30 examples altogether, two dozen of which are personal names among which probably there are some place-names. It is noticeable that a great majority of these names come also from Knossos. Only three of them occur on the Pylos tablets,[5] one of which, ri-zo, appears both on the PY and KN tablets, one from Eleusis (da-pu-ra-zo), one from Tiryns (no-di-zo), none from Mycenae, and all the others from Knossos.

According to M. Le jeune,[6] who examined these names (with the exception of pu-zo which was discovered later after the join of Ap 5748 with L 590, and na-ki-zo- after the reading of Ws 8499 by J.T. Killen and J.P. Olivier) almost all of them are of non-Greek origin. The interpretation of nearly all these words is beset with great difficulties, because most of them are short, «hapax legomena» and they usually appear in one form only. The ending -zo itself involves the complicated question about the phonetic value of the -z- series in the Mycenaean orthography. The ending allows different etymological explanation, because it might represent a reflex of several consonantal groups: di (-pe-za < *-pedia), gi (me-zo < *megios, ai-za < *aigiai); in some cases z alternates with k (cf. a-ke-ti-ri-ja / a-ze-ti-ri-ja, etc.) and represents a result of ki (za-we-te < *kiawetes, kaza < *khalkia), which suggests a palatal character of z-series.[7]

As the suggestion that -z- may represent -ss- of pre-Greek origin was criticized by some Mycenologists,[8] first we must answer the question whether we may expect the suffix -ssos in the Mycenaean ending -zo. If we admit this possibility, then another question inevitably arises: why was the pre-Greek suffix -s(s)os transcribed in Mycenaean sometimes with -s-, and sometimes with -z-?

In order to answer these questions, we must throw a glance at the suffix -σσος /-ττος in classical Greek. The recent studies on this subject by Hester, Crossland and J. Chadwick revealed the heterogenity of this suffix too. The -ss / tt- alternation in Greek very likely implies something other than a simple sibilant in the substrate. Variations have been seen not only in the forms with simple and double -s(s)- of this suffix, but also in the accent of these words, cf. Πέδασσος, along with Παρνασσός, Ἰαλυσὸς and Πάρνασσος, Ἴαλυσος etc.; some names are palatalized, e.g. Λυκαβηττός, others are only in sibilant Κεφισός.

The confusion over single and double sigma in -s(s)os might partly be due to the fact that early inscriptions and manuscripts in some cases do not distinguish geminates, and the single sigma has a value for both. However J. Chadwick[9] pointed out that there are clear examples among the place -names in -ssos which prove that -sos with a single—s— and -ssos with double sigma are two separate suffixes. The adjective form of Κνωσός in the Argive dialect is Κνοhιαν, which indicates that the name Κνωσός was written with single sigma, because the double —ss— would not produce an aspirate —h—. Similarly, the spelling Ἰλισός and Ἰλισσός for the river in Athens, according to him, must go back to a single —s—, because the double—ss— in Attic is replaced by double tau (—tt—), and the form *Ἰλιττός is not documented. The development of the Attic -ttos obviously did not begin with the same suffix known in Luvian as -assos. These facts lead us back to the original phonetic value of this suffix and inevitably show that all the examples in -sos and -ssos do not have the same origin.

Now let us go back to the Mycenaean names in -zo. In fact we cannot answer the question whether the ending -zo may represent the suffix -ssos if the words with this ending are not identified. In spite of the wide range of theoretical possibilities for the identification of the names in -zo, nearly all of them are without a satisfactory explanation. However, some of them can be connected with familiar names in -ssos, e.g. ki-zo, a feminine personal name, which might be explained as *Κισσώ, related to Κισσός «ivy hedera helix» and na-ki-zo, perhaps Νάρκισσος. Here we may add the reading and possible interpretation of ta-ra-za-po-ro by H. Mühlestein as θαλασσαπόρος.

The name na-ki-zo appears on a sealing from Knossos (Ws 8499) together with another personal name: pi-mo-no, perhaps ? *Phil-mnos, or *Phil-mno[10] and the word pa-wo φάρFος. At first sight na-ki-zo might be connected with Νάρκισσος, which is a well known mythological and historical name (cf. Bechtel, HPN, p. 594), but it is not easy

to explain why it was spelt with –z, and ku-pa-ri-so κυπάρισσος, which seems exactly of the same type, —with —s—.

As it was mentioned, the names with the suffix -s(s)os in classical times do not form a homogeneous group, but display differences which point to their different origin. Such differences, if not greater, might naturally appear in the Mycenaean documents as well.

The question which this suffix was formed represent a very difficult problem because of lack of more ancient pieces of evidence. Besides, we must have in mind the complexity and heterogenity of the suffix -s(s)os. In his studies of this suffix D. Hester[11] came to the conclusion that the names in -ssos represent a composit class. J. Chadwick also noticed that not all examples of the -ssos suffix should be attributed to the same origin.[12] One of the reasons for the heterogenity of this suffix might be very likely due to the fact that it has become from various formations in different times. Through the analysis of documented Anatolian and Greek forms in -ssos one can get an idea of horv this suffix was formed in some of them.

It has been already pointed out that Luvian shows a peculiarity to use a possessive adjective in -assis, or -assas, where Hittite and Greek use the genitive.[13] In fact this form is considered as parallel to the suffix -ssos with the same meaning, cf. Parnassos «belonging to Parna», Luv. parna «house (of god), temple.[14] The adjectival meaning of the Luvian forms in -ssos shows that this suffix is closely related to the I.E. denominative and adjectival suffix -i(y)o, added to some consonantal stems.[15]

Once formed in this way, the I.E. suffix -ssos could spread over other stems to several Mediterranean languages, the same as the Greek verbal ending -(ξω) < -dió and -gió), which through Latin penetrated into all the modern European languages. But some differences, depending on the stem to which the suffix -i(y)o was added, might be traced in Mycenaean.

It is well known that dentals + i/yo in Mycenaean, as in later Greek, give -s-, cf. to-so τόσ(σ)ος < + toti-os, di-do-si δίδουσι, Dor. δίδοντι. The voiceless velars (k,ĸ,) with the suffix -io- in classical Greek produce -σσ- in Ionic, and -ττ- in Attic. A special sigh (tsade) was used for this sound in some Ionic alphabets. But in Mycenaean the reflex from such a group would be a palatalk, written with z. As we already mentioned, the phonetic value of the z-series was palatal. The sibilant and affricate theories are based on very weak argument:.[7]

Among the other characteristics of the Minoan language of the second millennium B.C. penetrated into Mycenaean through the Linear B script, J. Chadwick noticed that palatalized and labialized consonants are clearly indicated by the Linear B script. «Since palatalized consonants would be eliminated by the processes of phonological change in Greek, we should not expect to find direct traces. But it is probable that some words containing -σσ- have this origin».[16] It seems that some traces of palatalized consonant can be discovered in the Mycenaean ending -zo, where in some cases the later suffix -ssos might be concealed.

The name κυπάρισσος is probably derived from κυπαριτιο, κυπαρισιο or κυφαριτιο/-σιο, as stated by V. Georgiev[17] rather than from κυπαριτFος[18], because in Mycenaean the consonant group tw was still kept, even a special sign (*91) existed for the value two. The result from tio, sio in Mycenaean would be s, as it is documented in ku-pa-ri-so. But the etymology of κισσός is derived from a velar stem *kik-, Skt. sik- «strap» (ivy can be used for binding like straps),[19] and to this stem the Mycenaean form ki-zo* Κισσώ corresponds well. The plant name νάρκισσος is without a satisfactory etymology. Judging from the suffix -ssos the plant name, and hence the personal name Νάρκισσος, is of pre-Greek origin, later probably connected by popular etymology with νάρκᾱ, νάρκη «numbness, deadness», because of the calming effect of the plant.[20] cf.

(Hofmann, EWgr. s.v.). If identification of na-ki-zo with Νάρκισσος is correct, then it might also be explained as a stem in -k.

The majority of the names in -zo have not been identified yet. Many of them are very likely with pre-Greek and non-Greek stems. In some cases the ending -zo probably denotes a different spelling of names with a velar stem, e.g. ke-zo and ke-ki-jo, (Κέρκιος, Κερκίω), both from Pylos. However, in some of them, e.g. ki-zo *Κισσώ, from κισσός/-ττός, and na-ki-zo Νάρκισσος, although they are personal names, the ending -zo might represent the suffix -ssos. It might be explained as a result of the I.E. suffix -i(y)o added to the stems in -k, (as V. Georgiev showed with the examples of Κηττός < *κηκ-ιος, Σφηττός < *σφηκιο-ς etc.)[21]. but probably in some pre-Greek, I.-E. language.

Thus, we can admit the possibility that along with -so in the Linear B script the ending -zo might also represent the pre-Greek suffix -ssos. But since only few examples in -zo,[22] all of which are personal names, could be identified with names and vocabulary words in -ssos of later Greek, this conclusion is rather a theoritical possibility than a proved statement.

NOTES

1. While some scholars find easy explanations for these suffixes, others have a more critical approach and think that the Greek suffix -σσος/-ττος with the Luvian -assos, and Greek —νθ— with the Anatolian —nd— is not so simple, because some linguistic difficulties still remain unsolved. Cf. the critical attitude by R. Crossland in «The Supposed Anatolian Origin of the Place-names» Atti del VII Congr. Int. di Scienze onomastiche, I, Florence 1961, pp. 375-376; D.A. Hester, Recent Developments in Mediterranean «Substrate» Studies, Minos IX, 2, 1968 pp., 219-235; J. Chadwick, «Greek and Pre-Greek», Transact. of the Philol. Soc. 1969, pp. 80-98.

2. Cf. J. Chadwick, o.c. p. 82-84.

3. Ku-so appears both on the Pylos (Eb 893. 1; Ep. 301. 10) and on the Mycenaean tablets (Oe 103, 6).

4. C. J. Ruijgh, Études sur la grammaire et le vocabulaire du grec mycénien, Amsterdam 1967, p. 52.

5. Se-we-ri-wo-wa-zo (Fn 324. 4), ke-zo (Cn 328. 10) and ri-zo (An 261. 9).

6. Les sifflantes fortes du mycénien, Minos VI, 2, 1958, pp. 87-137.

7. The attempt of some scholars to prove that ki in Mycenaean sometimes renders a sibilant —s— is based only on two uncertain examples: pa-sa-ro, explained as Πασσάλω < * Πακιαλος and wa-na-sa < *wanak(t)-ia. But pa-sa-ro might well be identified with ψάλω «ring buckle» Taillardat, J., Notules mycéniennes, REG 73, 1960, p. 6; «(golden) chains», «necklaces», L. R. Palmer, Interpret. of Myc. Texts, Oxford 1963, p. 442, and for wa-na-sa cf. M. D. Petrusevski, Prvobitnite palatali i palatalizaci jata vo grc kiot jazik od mikenskata epoha, Prilozi, Maked. Akad. na naukite u umetn., Skopje 1970, pp. 81-103; Wa-na-so-i et le problème de la palatalisation en grec mycénien, Acta Mycenaea of V Intern. Colloqu. on Myc. Studies II, Salamanca 1972, pp. 121-137.

8. G. R. Hart, The Effects of the Palatalization of Plosives in Mycenaean Greek, Mycenaean Studies, Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium on Myc. Studies, Cambridge 1966, pp. 125-134, espec. 134.

9. J. Chadwick, o.c. p. 87.

10. Cf. H. Mühlestein, «Certains mots mycéniens avec pi-intial devant consonne», Atti e Memorie del 1° Congr. Intern. di Micenologia, Roma 1968, p. 661.

11. Revue Hittite et Asianique 15, 1957, pp. 107-119.

12. J. Chadwick, o.c., p. 91.

13. Cf. J. Mellart, «The End of the Early Bronze Age in Anatolia and the Aegean», AJA 62, 1, 1958, p. 27.

14. L. R. Palmer, «Mycenaeans and Minoans», London 1961, p. 26.

15. Prof. V. Georgiev also suggests that the suffix -ssos may originate from different stems *io; -kio, (n)-tio, -sio, cf. «Introduzione alla storia delle lingue indeuropee», Roma, Edizoni dell, Ateneo 1966, pp. 209-215.

16. J. Chadwik, o.c. p. 95.

17. V. Georgiev, o.c. p. 378.

18. Provided that this form comes from a pre-Mycenaean language, where the group tw already had been changed into —ss—.

19. Cf. P. Hr. Ilievski, Z.A. XIX, 1, 1969. p. 24.

20. Talking about the etymology of this name we must have in mind the fact that the flower νάρκισσος is not only Mediterranean, but we find it all over the world, as it was mentioned, in the paper by prof. P. Faure. Cf. also G. Hegi — K. Suessenguth, Illustrierte Flora von Mittel-Europa II, München 1939, p. 361-369; p. 362. : In der älteren Medizin spielten die Blätter und namentlich die Zwiebeln eine grosse Rolle; die giftigen Eigenschaften waren bereits den Alten bekannt. Von einem wohlriechenden Narzissenöl berichtet bereits Dioskurides».

But it is to be noticed that some of his etymologies are very problematical. Thus, he states that Myc. wa-to = Att. Ὑηττός *ὑα(ν)τ-ιος. It is improbable that the group -ti-would give -t(t)- in Mycenaean.

21. «Introduzione alla storia delle lingue indeuropee», p. 210s G. also the paper: «La Grèce et les indoeuropéens» at this Colloquium.

22. For some other examples in -zo, along with ki-zo and na-ki-zo. where the suffix -ssos might be assumed cf. the paper «Some Observations on the Mycenaean Personal Names of Non-Greek Origin», Actes du IIe Congr. Internat. des Études Balkaniques et Sud-Est Européens, Athens, in the press.

THE COMING OF THE INDO-EUROPEANS TO THE SOUTHWESTERN BALKANS

by

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The area known as Western Macedonia and Central Albania (Fig. I) has fertile, marshy plains, excellent fishing and hunting, and winter and summer pastures for cattle and horses and especially for the transhumance of sheep. It attracted settlers in the Neolithic period; indeed Porodin in Pelagonia has given its name to an advanced culture based on agriculture, stock-raising and hunting; its figurines show sheep, pig, cattle, lynx and the earliest horse in the Balkans[1]. Our area also contains the crossroads of the Balkans; for the best route, perhaps the only route in prehistoric times, from the Danube basin to Greece runs through Pelagonia and Lyncus, and the only practicable routes from west to east cross the Balkan range via Monastir or via Florina, and descend through Lyncus to the Thermaic Gulf. Towards the close of the Neolithic period Malik was one of the most important sites in the Balkans, holding a key position on the overland route to the west. In his recent excavations there Professor Frano Prendi has found imports from Krivodol (Bulgaria), Salcuta (W. Rumania), Dikili Tash (Greek Thrace), Butmir and Kakanj (Bosnia), and Lengyel (Hungary)[2]. Farther west Velcē had contacts not only with Malik but also with Servia in the Haliacmon valley and with sea-trade passing from Corinth via Leucas to Molfetta in Apulia and continuing up the Adriatic Sea[3]. The cave of Grabak on Hvar is another inter-cultural station; it has yielded pottery of Macedonia and Thessaly which evidently came overland to the lower Adriatic Sea. We can thus see that Western Macedonia and Central Albania belonged to the pattern of prosperity which marked the culmination of the Neolithic period in the Central Balkans.

At the beginning of the Bronze Age the pattern of prosperity was disrupted by three incursions. (1) The bearers of the Bubanj Hum culture with a proto-Minyan from of pottery came from the north east and occupied the east side of the Vardar valley from Skopje to Demir Kapu. (2) The bearers of a culture remarkable for its anchor-shaped pendant came from eastern Thrace and occupied Lower Macedonia. (3) Perhaps at the same time, perhaps later, a new people entered our area: they are known by a distinctive form of burial which they used for their chieftains, i.e. large flattish tumuli built over a central burial and used later for burials at the foot of shafts sunk through the soil. Such a tumulus might be used during centuries, and a cemetery of tumuli might cover a millennium.

I begin with a cemetery of 25 tumuli at Pazhok[4]. Three have been excavated, and two of these were double tumuli. The history of one of the double tumuli is as follows. A central circular pit was dug into virgin ground to serve as a mortuary chamber, and a funenerary sacrifice from which an ox-head survives was made above the burial; a ring of orthostatic stones was laid concentrically with the pit, soil was brought to form a tumulus over the whole, and later a layer of white river-stones was put over the top of the tumulus sealing it off. Next a second tumulus of soil was raised above the first and this had a

1) M. GRBIC, «Porodin» (Bristol), 1960), Pl. 32.

2) Fullest report in «Studia Albanica» 1966.1. 255-280.

3) N. G. L. HAMMOND, «Epirus» (Oxford, 1967) 230 and 290 ff.

4) Reported in «Studia Albanica» 1964.1 and discussed by me in B. S. A. 62 (1967) 77 ff. with plates 18 and 19.

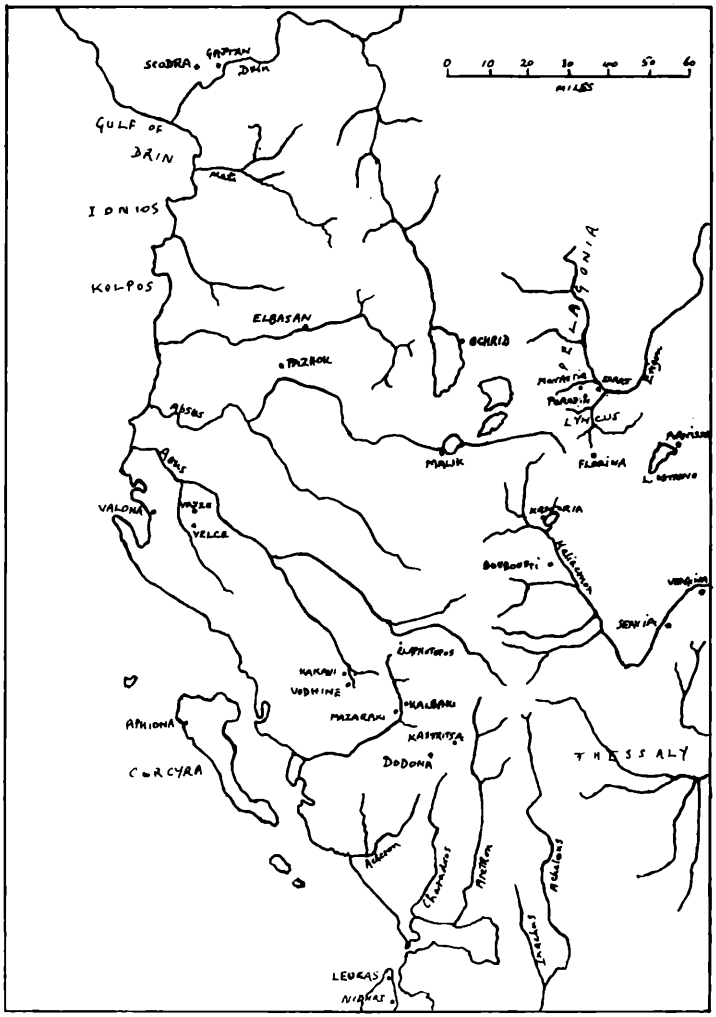

FIG. 1
Western Macedonia, central Albania and adjacent Areas

ring of single white river-stones, concentric with the first ring; further burials were made in the soil of this upper tumulus, covering a considerable period of time. The diameters of the rings, or to use Mycenaean terms «Grave Circles», were c. 11 m and 21 m respectively and the upper mound of soil had a diameter of 30 m or more. In the inner tumulus of the other double tumulus the initial burial was made in a rectangular mortuary chamber, dug into virgin ground, lined with stone walls, and roofed no doubt in the manner which is familiar in the burials of Grave Circle B at Mycenae. Sometimes a cairn of stones was over the mortuary chamber, and there were cist-burials with wooden surrounds in the outer tumulus. The report showed a cup and a cruciform sword in a cist-tomb while it was still being excavated.

A similar double tumulus has been excavated at Vodhinë in the Kseria valley, where there are at least three cemeteries of tumuli. A cairn of stones covers the original burial, and a ring of two stones, laid side by side, is 13 m in diameter; a dome of shingle seeled off this tumulus and a second tumulus of soil (now mainly washed away) received further graves. The burials in the double tumulus numbered 18 in all.[5] Another double tumulus was reported by Dr. Petsas at Arnissa (Ostrovo): there a grave-circle of orthostatic slabs contained at least ten burials, and outside the circle there were further burials.[6] All these cemeteries are at strategic points on main overland routes, and the burials are evidently those of the local rulers.

The dates are not in dispute at Pazhok. For the «Vaphio cup» (double-cylindrical) and the cruciform sword of an early type[7] are of L.H.I. to IIA. They are in the outer tumulus. The inner tumulus burials had daggers, spearheads and tweezers of M. H. types, dated by the excavators to the 18th century. The same is true of the second double-tumulus at Pazhok. At Vodhinë a dagger is of E.M.II to MM I date and a javelinhead is probably also of M.H. date; two cremation sets of pottery resemble sets at Tsangli in Thessaly which are of M. H. date[8]. We may add a cemetery of four large tumuli up to 24 m. in diameter at Vajzë, where Tumulus A Grave 12 had a mixture of Minoan and Mainland weapons of M.H. date (a Minoan rapier I m. long, slotted and shoed spearheads, and one-edged knives). From another grave in this tumulus a kite-shaped dagger of Central European type is of the M.B.A[9]. At Kakavi and Bodrishtë tumuli have stone pavements and many stones in the fill; in the Mati valley there are large cemeteries of tumuli, and one burial had objects of M.H. type. At this point I should mention that the Albanian scholars have dated all these burials to the beginning of the Early Iron Age, except at Pazhok where they accepted the evidence as decisive and beyond dispute[10]. I find the late inacceptable; for I do not see people making Minoan rapiers and tie-on spearheads at a time when iron slashing swords and iron socketed spearheads were being manufactured at the very same place.

I turn next to Leucas and Dörpfeld's Royal Graves. Here R I and R 26 have mortuary chambers dug into the virgin ground, lined with stone-walling, and originally roofed overall as at Pazhok; another, R 16 has a cairn of stones over the original burial in a shal-

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5) Reported in «Buletin për shkencat shoqërore (Tirana, in Albanian) 1956.1 180 f. and discussed in «Epirus» 201 f. and 350 f.

6) «Arch. Reports» 1953.159.

7) Shown in «B. S. A.» 62 pl. 19,1 and pl. 20,1.

8) Shown in «Epirus» Fig. 21, F and described in p. 330.

9) Reported in «Buletin për shkencat shoqërore 1957.2. 76 f. and discussed in «Epirus» 228 f. and 346 f.; for the dagger see «Epirus» 329 with Fig. 21 D2.

10) Most recently stated in the «Communications de la Délégation de la R. P. d'Albanie» of the 2nd International Congress on Southeast European Studies in 1970 by Muzaffer Korkuti.

11) W. Dörpfeld «Act Ithaka» (1927).

low pit as at Vodhinë[11]. The burials of R I and R 16 are dated by Helladic sauce-boats to E.H.I. or II (Caskey has suggested E.H. II in CAH[3] I. ii. 793).

I jump now to Servia in the Haliacmon valley, where we have the earliest example of a burial in a circular pit, dug into the then subsoil: lined with stone-walling, originally roofed, with a funerary sacrifice above the burial as a wood-ash layer indicates. There was a secondary burial above this layer. The date is controversial. Judging by the latest objects of pottery I date the burials to late in the Macedonian L.N.A., which may overlap with E.H. I. Some would date earlier, as Heurtley did himself[12].

To summarise the situation. During the millennium c. 2600 to c. 1600- though the dates can be contracted or expanded like a concertina—the land routes in our area and the sea route at Leucas and probably in the Gulf of the Drin were in the hands of rulers who practised this peculiar form of burial. It is well known as the «Kurgan» practice and these rulers belonged to the expansion called Kurgan IV which began c. 2500 B.C. This expansion brought two things with it: the horse, of which bones have been found in Macedonia in the E.B.A.[13], and Corded Ware pottery, which has been found near Scodra at Gajtan, at Kastritsa, at Aphidna and in Chalcidice (E.B.A.)[13] Lastly we have the arrival of other Kurgan people in Western Serbia, e.g. at Belotic in the Jadar valley where there are tumuli with Grave Circles, c. 2000-1900 B.C., and also in the Dobrača region tumuli 20 m in diameter c. 1600 B.C. where there are cist-burials and pottery including the double-cup as a Leucas and Vajzë[14].

Now language. It is generally thought that the Kurgan peoples spoke Indo-European languages and introduced them at this time not only into Central Europe but also into Asia Minor. These languages postulate a background of pastoral, tribal and militaristic life which is more appropriate to the Kurgan people than to the settled and agricultural neolithic peoples of Porodin or Karanovo. But which Indo-European languages? At Belotič and Dobrača certainly Ur-Illyrian. Could it be Ur-Illyrian in our area? It seems unlikely because later evidence points to the first Illyrians reaching our area nearer 1000 B.C. If it is not Ur-Illyrian, it must be Ur-Greek. Let us begin with this hypothesis and see what ties there are between our area and the peninsula within which Greek was surely being spoken already during the Middle Bronze Age by part of the population.

I show in Fig. 2 the tumulus-burial sites of the Middle Helladic period in Greece, to which we may add Marathon.[15] One tumulus is E.H. II/III transition, at Lerna, but the two burials were later. Some have features found at Leucas — e.g. pithoi and double-cups, as at Aphidna. Others have features found at Pazhok and Arnissa — e.g. orthostatic slabs, as at Malthi and in the monumental circle at Mycenae. We have also two large tumuli in concurrent use: at Pazhok, Vajzë, Leucas and Mycenae, presumably for two royal houses as later at Sparta. Most of the examples in Greece are later in date than those in our area, and they are therefore derived from our area. The users of these tumuli came as successful invaders and became rulers, founding what we call Mycenaean civilization and bringing the language of the conquerors — undoubtedly Ur - Greek as we know both from later Greek tradition and from the decipherment of Linear B Script.

Why did these invaders leave the reservoir of what we now see were the Greek-speaking peoples? The answer is clear in Macedonia where both the Bubanj Hum culture and the anchor-pendant culture expanded into Lyncus and Pelagonia during the Middle Bronze

12) W. A. HEURTLEY, «Prehistoric Macedonia» (Cambridge, 1939) 54 f.

13) See «Studime Historike» 1966.1.44. Fig. 2 dh, Epirus 309 and Prehistoric Macedonia 83.

14) M. and D. GARASANIN in «Archaeologia Iugoslavica» 2 (1956) 11 ff.; «Sbornik Radova Narodnog Myzeja I (1958) 47 ff. and 5 (1967) 5 ff.

15) For references see my article in «B. S. A.» 62.91 ff. and Sp. Marinatos in Athens Annals of Archaeology 3 (1970) 3.349 f.

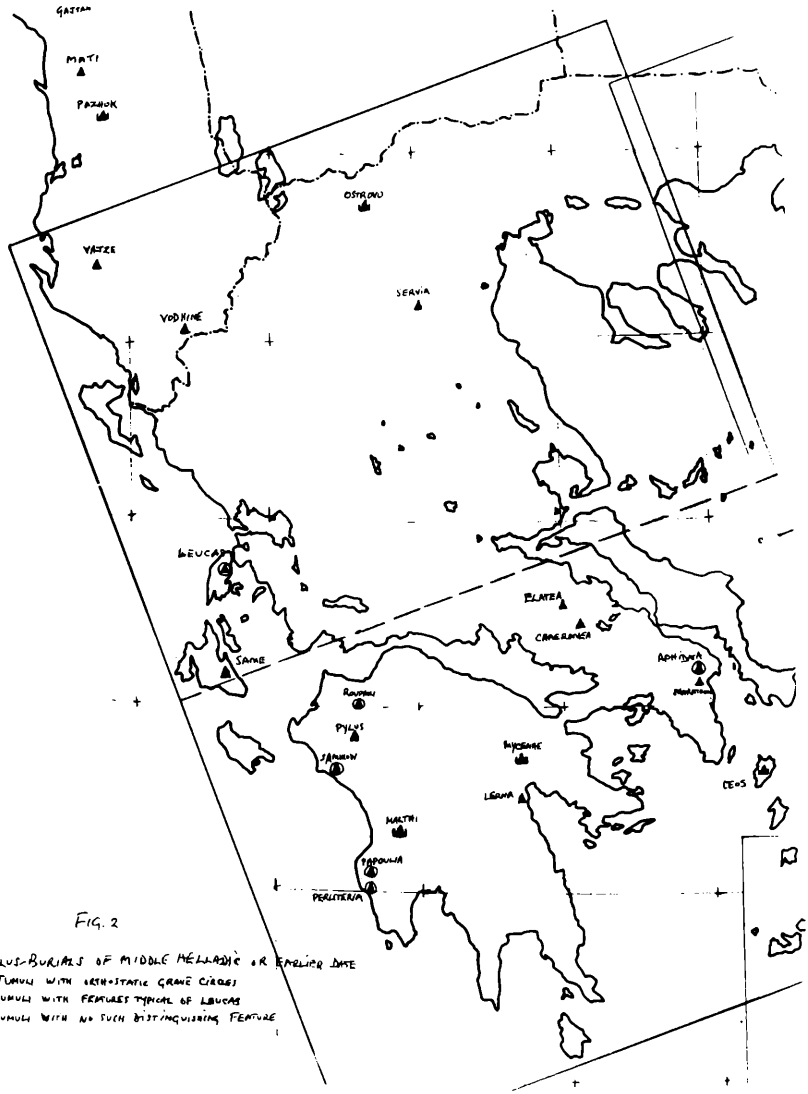

FIG. 2

TUMULUS-BURIALS OF MIDDLE HELLADIC OR EARLIER DATE

- TUMULI WITH ORTHOSTATIC GRAVE CIRCLES
- TUMULI WITH FEATURES TYPICAL OF LEUCAS
- TUMULI WITH NO SUCH DISTINGUISHING FEATURE

Age. The displaced population went west and southwest into Epirus, Corcyra, Leucas and Aetolia, and also southeast into Pieria. In these areas the gods of the Greeks had their locale: Zeus at Dodona, the entrance to the underworld on the Acheron, and the divine society on Olympus. We can see traces of penetration first in Thessaly, especially in the M.H. cist-tombs at Sesklo and in the M.H. settlement at Tsangli. In both cases the ties are close with Malik, e.g. the same designs incised on bases of pots, zoomorphic vases, 3 and 4 - legged altar - tables, cruciform figurines and clay phalli. A tumulus burial at Ayia Marina near Chaeronea had a funerary sacrifice, a zoomorphic vase, and a 4 - legged altar - table; one at Elatea (Drakhmani) a cairn of stones, an ox-thigh-bone, and a bronze snouted-knife. The burial at Ayia Marina is early, perhaps in the Thessalian L.N.A., and it indicates an early penetration of Thessaly which suits the legend of Deucalion and the Greek tradition of origins within Greece. Here too in the Gulf of Volos is the tradition of the first seafaring in the Aegean; moreover the «Argo» returned on the other seaway known to the earliest Greek-speaking peoples, the Adriatic or rather the Ionios Kolpos, also called the Gulf of Kronos or of Rhea, the parents of Zeus.

When we consider Albania and Western Macedonia from the point of view of the dialectologist, we are faced by the interesting fact that the region contains not only an interpenetration of languages - Albanian, Vlach, Serb and Greek - but also a very marked differentiation in the dialects, for example, of Albanian. Thus the main dialects in Albanian, called Gheg and Tosk, divide into Northwest Gheg and Northeast Gheg (both extending into Yugoslavia), Central Gheg and South Gheg, each strongly marked, and again North Tosk and South Tosk, the latter having distinct variants in Liap and Tsam, which are spoken in the western parts of Epirus on both sides of the frontier with Greece. Vlach too has strongly marked dialects in the area, and in Yugoslavia a marked dialect of Serb is called Macedonski. The proclivity of this area to produce such marked dialects is no doubt due not only to its geographical fragmentation but also to its comparative seclusion; for one does not find such dialectal differentiation in Greek Macedonia, Greek Epirus or Thessaly. Thus we have by analogy a remarkably suitable locale for the surprising phenomenon that the dialects of Greek - Ionic, Aeolic, Doric, Northwest-Greek and perhaps Macedonian - came into existence not within the Greek peninsula but during a long period of residence somewhere outside the Greek peninsula where the tribes were in proximity to one another. Similarly in recent times the Albanians who entered Greece and notably parts of Attica came with dialects which had already been formed in their homeland.

Toponyms, too, may play a part. Many river-names in the northwest are based on the two vowel sounds for water which are found in Indo-European languages and in Greek among them: Aoos, Apsos, Aphas, Acheron, Arethon, Acheloos, Charadros, Inachos. River names which may be Greek are Erigon, Meliton, Haliacmon, Aison, Astraios, Leukos and Sus in Western Macedonia and Pieria. It is interesting to notice how the name of a great river survives; for Aoos had antecedents in Aias and Araoua, and it had as its descendants Vijosë in Albanian, Bōyūsa in Vlach and Aoos in Greek.

When we consider invasions of the Greek peninsula, the archaeological distinction which we have seen between the sea-going Ur-Greeks and the inland Ur-Greeks is of importance. It suggests that the earliest wave of invasion or penetration, that of the Ionic-speakers, went in part at least by sea and had Leucas and the Ionian Gulf as its main source of origin, and their leaders were buried in tumulus-graves which had affinities with those at Nidhri in Leucas (especially in the western coastal areas of the Peloponnese and in Attica). The Aeolic - speakers went by land and they buried their leaders in large tumuli with grave circles sometimes made of orthostatic slabs as at Mycenae and Malthi.

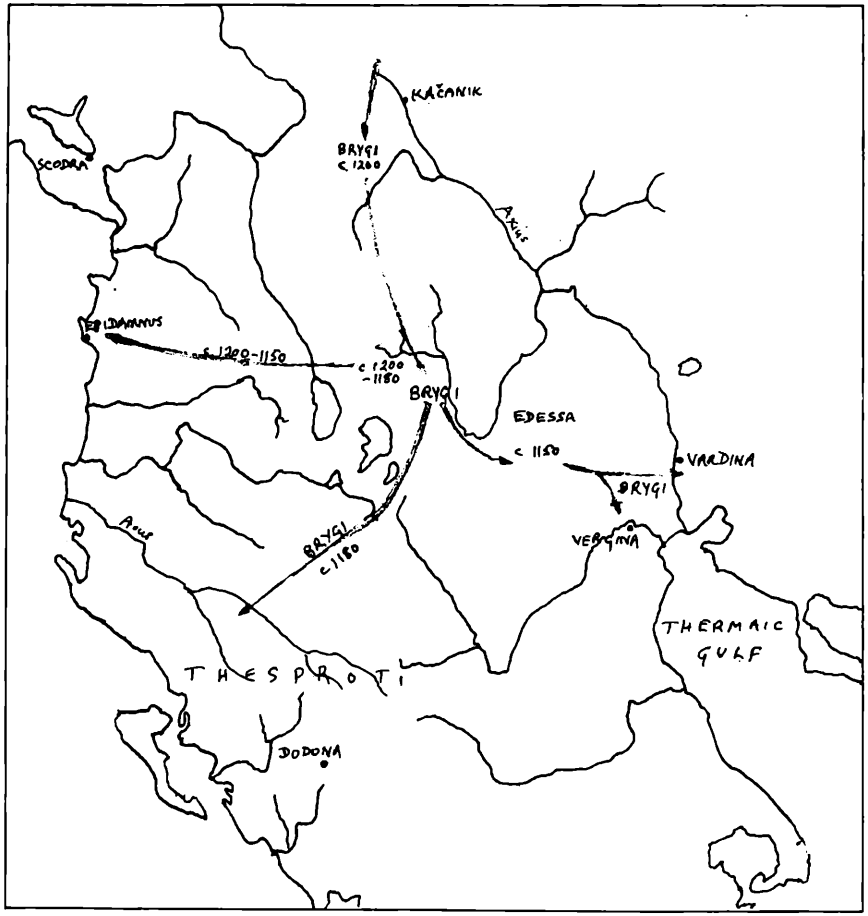

FIG. 3
The Invasion of the Brygi

The speakers of the other dialects were still outside the Greek peninsula and in the homeland of the dialectically differentiated Greek language when the Bronze Age was drawing to a close. What they spoke was retarded in development and conservative rather than innovating, as compared with Ionic and Aeolic, when they too moved south and entered the Greek peninsula as a result of what is loosely called the Dorian Invasion. Let us return to our area for the final phase.

In Albania tumulus-burial continued until around 1000 B.C., and the population was increased by refugees from Pelagonia and Malik where sites were deserted by 1400. Dur-

ing the Late Bronze Age a fine style of pottery was used throughout most of our area, «the Bouboustì style» of Heurtley and «the Northwest Geometric» of Dakaris. Intruders from the north appeared at the transition from LH III B to C in Central Epirus at Kalbaki, Mazaraki and Elaphotopos with curving-backed knives, armlets of bronze wire with spiralling ends, finger-rings of bronze with spiralling ends, and finger-rings of bronze band. Similar objects have been found in Pelagonia: at Saraj near Brod (grave XI) dated c. 1200 by Trbuhovic, and at Prilep in cist-tombs perhaps of the 12th century[16]. Bückelkeramik pottery appeared at Elaphotopos, in the Mati valley, and at Gajtan near Scodra - all around 1200. Then at Vardarophtsa and Vardina, dated c. 1150 through association with Granary pottery and at Strumsko in the Strymon valley; finally at Vergina in tumulus-burials c. 1100-900 B.C.[17]. The objects in Pelagonia and Central Epirus and the Bückelkeramik are all typical of the Lausitz culture of Central Europe.

The course of the Lausitz invasion is now clear, and it may be compared to that of the Goths under Theodimund. Its pressures sent off further waves of Greek-speaking peoples, namely Dorians and speakers of northwest-Greek c. 1140-1120 B. C.

In Fig. 3 the Lausitz peoples are named as the Brygi who were a branch of the Phrygians who occupied Troy VII B 2, having passed through the Balkans. We have literary evidence for them. Odysseus and the Thesproti fought against Briges in the T e l e g o n y, i.e. c. 1180 B.C., and the foundation legend of Epidamnus (App B. C, 2.39 gives as possessors of the site Heracles and then the Briges and next the first Illyrians, the Taulantii. On the eastern side of the Balkan chain we learn from Herodotus 7.73 and 8.138. 2-3 that the Briges lived below Mt. Bermion in the gardens of Midas (by Edessa and Naoussa), next to the Macedones (who were in northern Pieria). It is evident that the great invasion by the Briges on both sides of the Balkan chain exerted a strong pressure on the area in which we have placed the homeland or reservoir of the Greek-speaking peoples. This pressure led to the so-called Dorian Invasion.

16) For Kalbaki and Elaphotopos «Eph. Arch.» 1956 124 f. and «Epirus» 401; for Mazaraki and Elaphotopos see «A. D.» 22 (1967) «Chronica»; for Saraj see «Starinar» 11 (1960) 199 f., and for Prilep ibidem 209 f.

17) For Elaphotopos «A. D.» 22 (1967) «Chronica»; for the Mati valley «Studia Albanica» 1964.1.103; for Gajtan «Studime Historike» 1966.1 pl. xi 5, 6 and 9; for Vardarophtsa and Vardina «Prehistoric Macedonia» 98; for Strumsko the latest issue of the «Bulgarian Archaeologia»; for Vergine M. Andronikos «Vergina» 1.185 ff.

COMMENTS

MYLONAS:

I shall begin with the assumption of the existence of a tumulus over Grave Circle B, maintained by Hammond. His assumption is based partially on reports published by Papadimitriou in the Praktika year after year and as the excavation proceeded.

Often enough a statement made in one year was proved wrong by the continued work the next year and a correction was made in subsequent reports, a correction that might escape the attention of scholars. Now, after the end of the excavation work it became possible to formulate the final and definite conclusions based on facts and the manuscript of these is already in the hands of the printers, published by the Archaeological Society of Greece under whose auspices the excavation was conducted.

It was noticed by Hammond that the wall forming the Circle was made of large stones

set upon a foundation of much smaller stones and earth. Remnants of such a foundation were also found along the west slope of the area. They are of the same width as the foundation on the east and north sides. Now if a tumulus was erected over the Circle, of which the circular wall served as a drum, the foundations would have been very much wider at the west since the ground slopes from the north-east to the south-west and since they would have to support a deeper fill. This is not the case and the same width of the foundation proves that a tumulus did not exist.

Furthermore, a number of graves were used repeatedly. For every new burial the grave had to be opened and then sealed again. In Grave were buried four people. To bury the fourth body they had to dig a narrow trench of some 4 meters deep; if we add to this the height of the tumulus over that grave the earth through which the trench would have to be dug would be considerably greater, almost 7 meters.

This, actually, would have been impossible since, as the excavation showed, for that burial only, a narrow trench, some 2 meters in extreme width was, dug.

Even for grave Circle A it is now established that the wall that was considered to be a strengthening wall of Circle A was part of the original earlier circle that surrounded the area.

These considerations, I believe, are sufficient to prove that the Grave Circle was not covered by a unified tumulus, but as Professor Keramopoulos originally maintained, each grave was covered by a small individual mound.

Often enough the mound at Lerna is included in the lists of burial mounds. I was glad to hear Prof. Hammond accept that it is not a burial mound. As Professor Caskey explained, it is earth piled over the ruined remnants of the «Tile House» and for a time it was reserved and not used for any kind of structure. It seems as if it was considered as consecrated ground or an «abaton». True, a shaft grave was found within its perimeter, but the grave was accidentally constructed a number of centuries later. That it was located there by accident is proved by a second shaft grave found beyond the mound.

May I end with the evident thought that dates should be based on established scientific evidence, especially if on dates are dependent hypotheses on relations of cultures and movements of people. Also, I must emphasize that the latest object in a burial dates the grave, no matter what else the grave contains. If that principle is remembered, then the MH dates suggested for the tumulus of Pazhog cannot be accepted, since in the later grave of that tumulus with other furnishings was found a spear head of the Hallstatt type, datable to LH III B to C period.

BURIAL CUSTOMS OF THE MIDDLE AND LATE BRONZE AGES

by

Prof. GEORGE MYLONAS

I chose the topic of the burial customs for a brief presentation this afternoon because often enough in our efforts to determine movements of people in prehistoric times, we overlook this most important aspect of human activity and behavior. We forget that burial customs, developing gradually out of old or never experiences and contacts, are very revealing. Furthermore since they are held tenaciously by people in their wonderings and stays in other lands they preserve most valuable information. In the mainland of Greece, especially in its eastern section from Thessaly South, a good number of graves and cemeteries excavated over the years by various scholars have yielded evidence that makes possible the delineation of the burial customs of the Middle and Late Helladic periods. The excavation of Grave Circle B has provided additional important elements to the study of these customs, Thus we now are in a position to formulate the following definite conclusions :

1. In Mycenae we have two grave circles at some distance from each other. In the area be ween them Tsountas and Wace have excavated a number of graves belonging to the same cemetery to which belong the grave circles . The graves and circles do not form a continuous cemetery with one grave after another in sequence, but they form detached groups, one group at one end of the cemetery, another at the other and groups of graves in between. This arrangement of graves in groups is not to be found only in Mycenae and in Middle Helladic times. Long ago, Tsountas pointed out that the graves of the Late Helladic period at Mycenae were grouped around the dwellings of the same family. Professor Blegen found that the Middle Helladic cemetery of Prosymna was made up of detached groups of graves, and this was found also to be the case at Asine by Professor Persson and by us at Eleusis. It seems therefore that burial in detached groups was characteristic of the late Middle Helladic period and of the Early Mycenaean.

2. The shaft graves of Mycenae have developed in that site out of the cist graves. Years ago the late Professor Wace declared that the shaft graves are royal versions of the cist graves used for the burial of royalty. However, a good many objections were raised on the size of the graves, the number of burials in each, the position in which the bodies were laid, the number of offerings and the like. The excavations at Eleusis and the illustrations projected will prove that Wace's conclusion was correct, that the small cist graves gradually are enlarged, that with the passing of time the cists used for individual burial become family graves, that the number of offerings keep increasing towards the end of the Middle Helladic period. With the enlargement of the graves follows the development of the contracted position of the bodies to a more extended attitude and by the beginning of the Late Helladic period the extended position becomes common.

It seems however, that occasionally cist graves in which single bodies were laid in a contracted position were made in Mycenae as well as at Eleusis and elsewhere, down to the middle Mycenaean period.

3. The graves of Circle B provide the evidence that inhumation was the only mode of burial in late Middle Helladic and Early Mycenaean times. No sign of cremation was found either at Mycenae or Eleusis and as far as I know no sign of cremation was found in the mainland of Greece in Middle Helladic and Early Mycenaean Graves. I think that the cremation found by Doerpfeld at Lefkas is a special case that has to be studied by itself. Again we may stress that the extended position was developed when the graves be-

came more spacious and that in Grave Circle B we have both extended and contracted burials and that some of the extended burials are somewhat older than the contracted. (For example grave I with extended burials is older than graves Z and H with contracted burials). It seems certain that the available space imposed the extended or the contracted position: no religious or ethical reasons were responsible for the change.

4. In a good number of shaft graves of Grave Circle B we find that the bones of the previously buried were pushed aside and piled in corners to make room for later burials in the same grave. This pushing aside of bones without ceremony or respect is found in Middle Helladic graves of the second half of the period, when more than one individual were buried in the same grave. It characterizes also the burial customs of the Mycenaean period.

5. The placing of offerings or «kterismata» became common in the second part of the Middle Helladic period and continued as a burial custom to the end of the Mycenaean.

6. No evidence for a Cult of the dead exists either for the Middle Helladic period or the Mycenaean. Certainly no evidence for such a cult was found in Grave Circle B.

The consideration of the six points raised lead us to some interesting conclusions. The totality of burial customs revealed by the excavation of Grave Circle B seems to be derived from the customs of the Middle Helladic period, developed gradually in the mainland of Greece by its Middle Helladic inhabitants. This totality of the burial customs is to be found in the graves of the Late Helladic period of the Mycenaean world.
The only apparent difference is the form of the grave, the chamber and tholos tomb as against the cist and the shaft grave. Those were due to foreign influences on the Mycenaeans, as I have demonstrated elsewhere. The totality of the burial customs has to be an important factor in the formulation of conclusions relative to the movements of people and invasions of territories. Not one or the other of the customs, but the totality of the burial customs provide valid basis for comparison and for conclusions.

We may now consider whether or not people conquering others or settling among other people adopt burial customs characteristic of those conquered but foreign to themselves. We may assume or accept that newcomers may adopt one or the other burial custom of the indigenous population, especially if the former belong to a less cultured group. But it is impossible to accept that they would adopt in their totality the burial customs they find of people no matter how civilized. We cannot import from Crete, for example, Minoan conquerors or rulers and then maintain that they adopted in toto the burial customs of the conquered abandoning their own. It is interesting furthermore to note that almost three fourths of the pottery found in the shaft graves of Circle B belong to the minyan and matt-painted varieties, characteristic of the Middle Helladic period. Both the burial customs and the majority of the objects found in the shaft graves have developed normally from earlier Middle Helladic customs and products. On the other hand they form the antecedents from which evolved the burial customs and products of the Mycenaean Early, Middle and Late periods. Consequently if we have to bring to the mainland of Greece new people, we have to bring them before the Middle Helladic period and after the end of the Late Helladic period. The former is possible the latter is impossible because we have a continuation of culture and life after the end of the Bronze Age.

The names of the people who were buried in the shaft graves of Mycenae will remain unknown, but it seems clear to me that they belonged to the Greek-speaking people whose existence is attested by the writings on the tablets of linear B script.

DIE GEMEINSAMKEIT DER KULTUREN SÜDBULGARIENS UND NORDGRIECHENLANDS WÄHREND DES NEOLITHIKUMS, ANEOLITHIKUMS UND DER FRÜHBRONZEZEIT

bei

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Das auf dem Symposium zur Erörterung gestellte Problem kann zweifellos nur mit der Beteiligung von Vertretern verschiedener verwandter Disziplinen wie, z.B., der Urgeschichte, der alten Geschichte, der Linguistik, der Anthropologie usw. gelöst werden.

Die Archäologie der ältesten urgeschichtlichen Kulturen der Balkanhalbinsel, einschließlich Griechenlands, ermöglicht die Feststellung der Stratigraphie und Chronologie dieser Kulturen, die Untersuchung ihres Ursprungs und Ausdehnungsbereichs, der gegenseitigen Beziehungen mit den benachbarten Gebieten, die Ermittlung der Migration der Bewohner usw. Dadurch unterstützt sie die Linguistik in der eingehenderen und gesamten Erforschung des Problems von den Indoeuropäern, ihres Ursprungs, ihrer Sprache und Kultur. Diese Hilfe muß sich vor allem bei der Bestimmung der ethnolinguistischen Schichten äußern, die in der Urzeit in diesem Fall im Landesgebiet des Griechenlands bestanden haben, und darauf hinweisen, welche dieser Schichten mit der ersten Indoeuropäern in Verbindung zu bringen sind. In dieser Frage stößt die Linguistik auf gewisse Schwierigkeiten.

Wir wollen einige neue archäologische Angaben und Beobachtungen aus Südbulgarien, dem Ägäischen Thrakien und Makedonien über das Neolithikum bis zur Frühbronzezeit mitteilen, die, unseres Erachtens, zur Klärung des Problems von den Indoeuropäern auf der Balkanhalbinsel und mittelbar zur Frage von den ersten Indoeuropäern in Griechenland beitragen können.

1. Die Archäologen, die sich mit den Problemen der Urgeschichte der Balkanhalbinsel und der Ägäis beschäftigen, sind zur gleichen Auffassung gelangt, wonach während des Übergangs vom Mesolithikum zum Neolithikum auf einem umfangreichen Gebiet, zu dem die Balkanhalbinsel, der östliche Mittelmerraum und Kleinasien gehören, die sogenannte «neolithische Revolution» erfolgt ist. Es hat sich eine umfangreiche kulturhistorische Gemeinschaft gebildet. Infolge der unterchiedlichen geographischen Verhältnisse (Naturbedingungen, materielle Quellen, Klima u.a.) in den einzelnen Gebieten der erwähnten Gemeinschaft hat die «Neolithisierung» anscheinend in verschiedenen Zeiten, jedenfalls im Abschnitt vom 7. bis 6. Jahrtausend v.u.Z. begonnen.

Die Untersuchungen der mehrschichtigen Siedlungen (Siedlungshügel), die für das erwähnte Gebiet typisch sind, zeigten bekanntlich, daß im Rahmen des genannten neolithischen Kulturkomplexes (der kulturhistorischen Gemeinschaft) allmählich differenzierte l o k a l e G r u p p e n entstanden sind, die die Bezeichnungen Karanovo I (Südbulgarien), Kremikovci I (Westbulgarien),[1] Starčevo I - III,[2] und Vršnik I — IV (Jugo-

1) G. I. GEORGIEV, Kulturgruppen der Jungstein- und der Kupferzeit in der Ebene von Thrazien (Südbulgarien), L'Europe à la fin de l'âge de la pierre, Praha 1961, 45 ff.; DERS., Beiträge zur Erforschung des Neolithikums und der Bronzezeit in Südbulgarien, Arch. Austr., 42, 1967. 90 ff. und die dort angegebene Literatur; DERS., Verbreitung und Entwicklung der neolithischen Kulturgruppen in Bulgarien, Actes du Premier Congrès International des Études Balkaniques et Sud-Est Européennes, Sofia 1970, 209 ff.

2) D. ARANDJELOVIĆ - GARAŠANIN, Starčevačka kultura, Ljubljana 1954; R. GALOVIĆ, Die Starčevokultur in Jugoslavien, Fundamenta, Reihe A, Band 3, Köln-Graz 1968, 1 ff.

slawien)[3], Nea Nikomedeia I (Makedonien)[4], Protoseskl[5] und Elateia (Griechenland)[6] Fikir tepe im Gebiet des Marmara-Meeres[7], Cris (Rumänien)[8], Körös (Ungarn)[9] und andere tragen. Die örtlichen Naturverhältnisse und die Kontakte mit der näheren oder ferneren Umwelt-kultur, d. h. die Ausrichtung der wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Wechselwirkungen und Einflüsse, haben zur beschleunigten oder zur verzögerten Entwicklung der einzelnen Kulturgruppen beigetragen. Wir sind der Meinung daß alle diese Gruppen, die sich auf der Grundlage der Ackerbau und Viehzucht entfalten und die bemalte Keramik kennen, zur gleichen oder fast gleichen Zeit existiert haben.

Die Archäologie verfügt über wenige Angaben über den Anfang der neolithischen Kultur auf der Balkanhalbinsel.

Der Anfangsabschnitt der Gruppe Karanovo I ist noch nicht entdeckt. Er ist auf den Flußterrassen im Vorgebirge und in den Kulturablagerungen der Höhlen zu suchen. Entdeckt wurde eine Anzahl von Siedlungen in Serbien, in denen Grobkeramik vom Typ Starčevo, jedoch ohne Ornamentbemalung vorkommt[10]. Es sind auch keine stratigraphischen Angaben vorhanden. Daher bereitet die Bestimmung des chronologischen Verhältnisses gegenüber der bemalten Keramik Schwierigkeiten. Trotz dieser Lücke sind in den Untersuchungen des Neolithikums archäologische Angaben vorhanden, die darauf hinweisen, daß die neolithische Kultur in der Zentralen und Östlichen Balkanhalbinsel in der vorangegangenen Periode des Epipaläolithikums (Gravettien) oder im Mesolithikum wurzelt. Einer der Beweise für diese Vermutung ist die mesolithische Tradition, die die alte neolithische Kultur der Balkanhalbinsel ererbt hat. (Herstellung von Feuersteinwerkzeugen, besonders die steile Retouche). Diese Werkzeuge wurden in einigen Kulturgruppen, z. B. Karanovo I, Nea Nikomedeia und anderen gefunden. In einigen altneolithischen Siedlungsschichten Südbulgariens wie Karanovo,[11] der Tell Azmak bei Stara

3) M. GARAŠANIN - D. GARAŠANIN, Neolitska naselba Vršnik kaj selo Tarinci, Sbornik na Štipskiot Narodni Musej, II, 1960 - 1961, 7 ff., M. GARAŠANIN, 39 BRGK 1958, 109; vgl. zuletzt M.V. GARAŠANIN, Genetische und chronologische Probleme des frühkeramischen Neolithikums auf dem Mittleren Balkan, Actes du VIIIe Congrès International des Sciences Prehistoriques et Protohistoriques, Tome Premier, Rapports généraux, Beograd 1971, 73 ff.

4) R. RODDEN et al., Excavations at the Early Neolithic Site at Nea Nikomedeia, 1961 Season, Proc. Preh. Soc., 28, 1962, 267 ff.; DERS., Recent discoveries from Prehistoric Makedonia· Nea Nikomedeia, Archaiol. Delt. 19, 1964, 368 f.

5) Vl. MILOJČIĆ, Hauptergebnisse der deutschen Ausgrabungen in Thessalien, 1953 - 58, Jahrb. RGMZ 6, 1959, 1 ff; J. NANDRIS, The development and relationships of the earlier Greek neolithic, Man, Vol. 5, N 2, June 1970, 192 ff.

6) S. S. WEINBERG, Excavations at Prehistoric Elateia, 1959, Hesperia, Vol. XXXI, Number 2, April - June, 1962, 158 ff.

7) K. BITTEL, Les fouilles de Fikirtepe, Actes du Ve Congrès d'Histoire Turque, 1956, Ankara 1960, 29 ff.; D. H. FRENCH, Prehistoric sites in Northwest Anatolia, Anatolian Studies, Vol. XVII, 1967, 56 f.

8) E. COMSA, La civilisation Cris sur le territoire de la R. P. Roumanie, Acta Archaeologica Carpathica I, 1959, fasc. 2, 173 ff.; vgl. dazu noch. VL. DUMITRESCU, Le début du Néolithique au nord du Danube en Roumanie, Actes du VIIIe Congrès International des Sciences Prehistoriques et Protohistoriques, 85 ff.

9) I. KUTIAN, The Körös Culture, Diss. Pann. Ser. II, 23 1947; J.MAKKAY, Die wichtigsten Fragen der Körös - Starčevo - Periode, Acta Antiqua et Archaelogica, 8, 1965, 3 ff; vgl. dazu die Entgegnungauf den gleichbetitelten Aufsatz von Vl. MILOJČIĆ, Heidelberg, 1967 und den Aufsatz von J. MAKKAY, Zur Geschichte der Erforschung der Körös - Starčevo - Kultur und einigen ihrer wichtigsten Probleme, Acta Archaelogica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, 21 (1969), 13 ff.

10) Unpublizierte Funde im Stadtmuzeum zu Belgrad, die ich dank der Liebenswürdigkeit von J. Todorović gesehen hatte.

11) G. I. GEORGIEV, Kulturgruppen, Taf. IV, 9 - 10; DERS., Über einige Produktionswerkzeuge aus dem Neolithikum und Äneolithikum in Bulgarien, Studia in honoremacad. D.Dečev, Sofia 1958, 369 ff.; im allgemeinen über diese Art von Sicheln vgl. S. A. SEMJONOV, Drewneisie kamennje serpi, SA XXI, 1954, 355 ff.; G. BEHM - BLANCKE, Bandkeramische Erntegeräte, Alt-Thüringen, Bd VI, 1962/1963, 104 ff.; S. N. BIBIKOV, Iz istoriikamennih serpov na Jugo-Wostoke Ewropi, SA 3, 1962, 3 ff.

Zagora[12], Kazanlak[13] u.a. wurden aus Hirschgeweih gefertigte Sicheln mit Nut zur Befestigung von Feuersteinzähnen gefunden. Obwohl die Sicheln des Typs Karanovo zu einer weiteren typologischen Entwicklung der Natufien-Sicheln aus Palästina gehören, setzen sie ebenfalls die mesolithische Tradition fort.

Bedeutsam für die Klärung des Ursprungs der neolithischen Kultur auf der Balkanhalbinsel ist die chronologische Bestimmung und kulturelle Zugehörigkeit der Siedlung Lepenski vir (Proto-Lepenski vir I - III) in Jugoslawien.[14]

Lepenski vir ist eine Fischer- und Jägersiedlung dicht am Donauufer im Gebiet des malerischen Einsernen Tores. Die Technik des Wohnungsbaus und der darin befindlichen Einrichtungen, des Hausinventars wie Steinmörser (und nicht Opferschale), Feuerstein- und Knochenwerkzeuge (Ahlen), die eine mesolithishe Tradition aufweisen, Marmorgefäßfragmente, die Art der Steinplastik und andere Kulturelemente sind der alten neolithischen Kultur in Südbulgarien und Makedonien weitgehend analog. Der Gehalt der Kultur, die technischen Neuheiten, die Haustierarten, die darin vertreten sind, zeigen, daß es sich um eine frühneolithische Kultur handelt. Sie führen dabei auch zur Annahme, daß die Siedlungsbewohner die Keramik kannten, jedoch keine Herstellung infolge der Art ihrer Wirtschaft entwickelt haben, da sie keramische Gefäße nicht benötigten.[15]. Die genannten Funde zeigen, daß die Kultur Lepenski vir I - III am Anfang des Neolithikums in der Zentralen Balkanhalbinsel bestanden hat. Wie bereits erwähnt, sind in dieser Kultur die Traditionen des Mesolithikums stark ausgeprägt. In der Nähe der Siedlung befindet sich ein Felsdach, dessen Raum während des Mesolithikums bewohnt war. Bekannt sind auch andere Siedlungen aus dem Anfang des Neolithikums («vorkeramisches Neolithikum»), die durch einige kulturelle Besonderheiten überraschen, wie z. B. die Siedlung Khirokitia auf Zypern[16].

Die nach dem Verfahren C 14 erhaltenen chronologischen Daten zeigen ebenfalls, daß Lepenski vir I - III zu den übrigen altneolithischen Siedlungen auf der Balkanhalbinsel, z.B. Karanovo I (Tell Azmak-Variante) synchron ist, deren Kultur mit dem Ende des 6 und Anfang des 5 Jahrtausends v. u. Z. datiert wird[17].

Über den Anfang des Neolithikums in Griechenland wurde in den lezten Jahren, bekanntlich, festgestellt, daß eine Übergangs-periode, das «vorkeramische Neolithikum» bestanden hat, die dem Mesolithikum folgte und dem Keramischen Neolithikum vorausging[18]. Die Fundstätten dieses «vorkeramischen Neolithikums» nehmen ständig, besonders im nördlichen Teil Griechenlands zu. Befremdend ist aber in diesem Fall, daß die Funde aus diesem frühesten Abschnitt der neolithischen Kultur sehr spärlich sind und, was noch wichtiger ist, von Ausgrabungen auf einer kleinen Fläche herrühren. Daher besteht eine Gewähr dafür, daß eines Tages mit diesen Funden nicht auch Keramik entdeckt werden kann. Die Forscher müssen, unseres Erachtens, auch bei der Abgrenzung der folgenden Kulturschicht mit monochromer Keramik als einzelnen Entwicklungsab-

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12) Unpublizierte Funde im Bezirkmuzeum zu Stara Zagora.

13) Unpublizierte Funde im Muzeum zu Kazanlak.

14) D. SRJOVIĆ, Lepenski wir, Beograd 1969.

15) B. JOVANOVIĆ, Elements of the Early Neolithic Architecture in the Iron Gate Gorge and their Functions, Archaelogia Jugoslavica IX, 1968 1 ff. und persönliche Mitteilung des Verfassers dieses Aufsatzes im September 1971.

16) P. DIKAIOS, Khirokitia, London 1953.

17) H. QITTA, Datiranje radiokarbonskich proba, in: D. SREJOVIĆ, Lepenski wir, 229 ff.

18) VL. MILOJČIĆ, Präkeramisches Neolithikum auf der Balkanhalbinsel, Germania, 38, 1960, 3/4, 321 ff.; S. S. WEINBERG, The Stone Age in the Aegean, The Cambridge Ancient History, Cambridge 1965, Vol. I, Chapter X, 9 ff; vgl. auch W. S. TITOV, Neolit Grecii, Moskwa 1969 und die dort angegebene Literatur.

schnitt der neolithischen Kultur sehr vorsichtig vorgehen[19]. Vom Standpunkt der Kulturentwicklung müßte angenommen werden, daß der Etappe der bemalten Keramik eine Etappe mit monochromer Keramik vorausgegangen ist, die in Griechenland entdeckt wurde. Die Erfahrungen aus den großen Ausgrabungen, bei denen die ganze Fläche der Siedlung mit Hilfe der stratigraphischen Methode freigelegt wird, zeigen aber, daß die bemalte Keramik in den Schichten der ältesten neolithischen Siedlungen selten vorkommt. Daher kann bei der Abgrenzung der Schicht mit bemalter Keramik von jener mit monochromer Keramik bei Probegrabungen ein Fehler unterlaufen. Bei der gegenwärtigen Lage der Dinge erscheint es am sichersten, daß auch in Griechenland die mesolithische Entwicklung mit der Schicht beginnt, die bemalte Keramik des Typs Karanovo I, Protoseskio, Nea Nikomedeia I, Elateia u.a. enthält.

Die großen stratigraphischen Ausgrabungen, die während der letzten Jahre in Bulgarien (Karanovo, Tell Azmak bei Stara Zagora, Tell Dipsis bei Ezero, Jasa tepe in Plovdiv, Kazanlak u. a.) durchgeführt wurden und das Eindringen zu den untersten Schichten der mehrschichtigen Siedlungshügel gestatteten, haben die Untersuchung des ältesten, unter der vorläufigen Bezeichnung Karanovo I - Kremikovci I bekannten Entwicklungsabschnitts der neolithischen Kultur ermöglicht. Eines der Hauptmerkmale dieser Kultur ist, bekanntlich, die bemalte Keramik. Da die Charakteristik ausfürlich behandelt worden ist, wollen wir auf diese Keramik nicht weiter eingehen, sondern nur einige ihrer wesentlichsten Merkmale hervorheben, durch die sie sich den ihr verwandten Kulturen auf der Balkanhalbinsel sowie südlich und südwestlich davon annähert. Die stratigraphische Lage der Gruppe ist genau bestimmt. In Karanovo, dem Tell Azmak, Kazanlak, Kapitan Dimitrievo und in einer Reihe anderer Fundstätten Südbulgariens sowie in den Gebieten, in denen die ihr verwandte Gruppe Kremikovci I und die Stile Čavdar (Bezirk Sofia)[21] und Tlačene (Bezirk Vraca) verbreitet sind, liegt sie auf sterilem Boden. Die Dicke der Kulturablagerungen und, folglich, auch die Lebensdauer in den einzelnen Siedlungen sind verschieden. In Karanovo hat das Leben sehr kurze Zeit, im Tell Azmak und in Kazanlak dagegen länger gedauert. Unbestreitbar ist aber die Tatsache, daß das Leben während des Altneolithikums (Karanovo I) im Flußbecken der Marica, wo die meisten neolithitischen Siedlungen vorkommen, an ein und demselben Ort länger gedauert hat. Infolgedessen haben sich sogennante Siedlungshügel gebildet. Die Naturverhältnisse haben dies in höchstem Maße begünstigt. Die in den Tälern der übrigen großen Flüsse der Halbinsel gelegenen Siedlungen (Makedonien, Ägäisches Thrakien, Thessalien und anderswo) hatten in diesem Entwicklungsabschnitt ein kurz fristigeres Leben. Ein Beweis dafür sind ihre dünneren Kulturablagerungen.

Die neolithischen Siedlungen in Makedonien wie Vršnik. Zelenikovo, Amzibegovo, Nea Nicomedeia und andere liegen, ebenso wie die Siedlungen in Südbulgarien, in fruchtbaren Feldern, auf Flußterrassen oder an Binnensee — und Sumpfufern. Die Form der Siedlungen ist ein und dieselbe: niedrige Siedlungshügel mit kreis - oder ellipsenför-

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19) S. S. WEINBERG, op. cit.; 19 ff.; W. S. TITOV, op. cit., 103 ff.

20) G. I. GEORGIEV, Beiträge, und ebenda angegebene Literatur. Uber Jasatepe vgl. P. DETEV, Annuaire du Musée National Archéologique, Plovdiv, I, 1948, 1 ff.; DERS., op. cit., III, 1959, 3 ff.; DERS., op. cit., IV, 1960, 5 ff. Die Funde von Kazanlak befinden sich im Kreismuseum und sind noch nicht publiziert.

21) G. I. GEORGIEV, Die neolithische Kultur in Čavdar und ihre Stellung im Balkan - Neolithikum, Actes du VIIIe Congrès International des Sciences Prehistoriques et Protohistoriques, Beograd, 9 - 15. IX. 1971 (im Druck) und die Literaturangaben in Anm. 1 desselben Artikels.

migem Grundruß. Je nach den Naturverhältnissen wurden die ebenerdig angelegten Wohnungen aus Holz und Lehm gebaut. Sie haben einen rechteckigen, fast quadratischen Grundriß (Karanovo, Nea Nikomedeia u. a.), sind nach der Bauweise, den Ambessungen, der Innenausstattung (Backofen, Handmühle, Mörser, Pithos) verwandt. Auch die Arbeitsgeräte, vor allem die Walzenbeile, sind die gleichen. Die Knochenlöffel (spatulae) mit denen das Mehl aus der Handmühle geschöpft wurde, weisen in den verschiedenen Siedlungen variierte Formen auf. Typisch sind die ellipsenförmigen Lehmkugeln, die mit Schleudern geworfen wurden. Sie kommen auch in den darauf folgenden Etappen der neolithischen Kultur vor. Die grobe Küchenkeramik, ein sicheres Merkmal für die Überlieferung der Kultur während des Neolithikums, ist in diesen Siedlugen völlig gleich· Dasselbe gilt für die monochrome und zum Teil auch für die bemalte Keramik, die in den verschiedenen Gruppen lokale Besonderheiten zeigt. Es werden aber auch einige ihrer Abarten festgestellt, die nach Technik, Ausführung und Charakter des Ornaments einander vollständig ähneln (Karanovo I, Nea Nikomedeia). Die Gefäße haben eine Halbkugelform ohne Wandprofil. Manche waren mit Deckeln und flachen Henkeln versehen. Neben den allgemeinen Formen zeichnet sich jede Gruppe auch durch eigene, in der Gruppe nicht vorkommende Formen aus. Für die Gruppe Karanovo I sind, z. B., Gefäße in Tulpenform typisch, die nirgendwo anders zu finden sind. Die Ton — und Marmorplastik ist naturalistisch. Eine besonders große Ähnlichkeit besteht zwischen den anthropomorphen Gefäßen der Gruppen Karanovo I und Nea Nikomedeia. Bemalte Keramik vom Typ Karanovo I ist im Ägäischen Thrakien und in den Küstengebieten des Schwarzen und des Marmarameeres bisher nicht entdeckt worden (?).

Die in diesen Ausführungen genannten verwandten Merkmale der alten neolithischen Kulturen auf der Balkanhalbinsel, deren Anzahl durchaus erhöht werden kann, sprechen für die Existenz ein und derselben kulturhistorischen Gemeinschaft zu Anfang der neolithischen Entwicklung auf dem Balkan, in der, wie bereits erwähnt, verschiedene Zonen und Gruppen zu unterscheiden sind.

Wenn wir von der Voraussetzung ausgehen, daß der Begriff «archäologische Kultur» sich während der frühen historischen Zeitalter mit dem Begriff «Ethnos» deckt, wie allgemein angenommen wird, gelangen wir zur Auffassung, daß die Bewohner, die die Träger der Gruppen Karanovo I, Kremikovci I, Starčevo I, Vršnik, Nea Nikomedeia I und anderer sind, ein und dieselben oder verwandten Ursprungs waren. Sie besaßen eine verwandte materielle und geistige Kultur, die sich in den zum Teil erwähnten archäologischen Einrichtungen und Funden äußert.

Die weitere Entwicklung der Kultur erfolgt bei den einzelnen Gruppen auf verschiedenen Wegen. In jeder Gruppe bleiben aber natürlich traditionsgemäß die gemeinsamen ursprünglichen Elemente erhalten, aus denen die Kultur besteht. Sie wurden aber bereichert, verändert und erreichten durch die neu eingeführten technischen Verfahren und Kultureinflüsse eine höhere Qualität.

Dies gilt für die Kulturgruppe Karanovo II des gleichnamigen chronologischen Systems, die eine natürliche Fortsetzung von Karanovo I ist und sich in einigen Siedlungen Südbulgariens zu einer selbsständigen Gruppe mit einigen ethnographischen Merkmalen entfaltet hat (Karanovo, Stara Zagora, Ploska Mogila u.a.) Ähnlich ist die Entwicklung in Thessalien, wo während des Neolithikums die Entfaltung von Protoseskio, Preseskio und Seskio zu beobachten ist.

Größere Aufmerksamkeit verdient die Untersuchung der neolithischen Gruppe Karanovo III (Veselinovo), die genetisch Karanovo II verbunden ist, und folglich, einen lokalen Ursprung in Gebiet des antiken Thrakiens (Südbulgariens) hat. Beispiele für die Kontinuität sind der Inhalt der entsprechenden Kulturschichten in Jasa tepe (Plovdiv) und besonders in Kazanlak, wo die Übergangsetappe von Karanovo II zu Ka-

ranovo III des Karanovschen chronologischen Systems sehr gut vertreten ist. Den deutlichsten Ausdruck findet die Überlieferung in der Keramik, in der alte und neue Formen gleichzeitig nebeneinander bestehen, in Kombinationen vorkommen, wodurch die neuen Formen ihren endgültigen Abschluß im Entwicklungsabschnitt Karanovo III erhalten. In der Plastik überwiegen die Menschenfiguren aus Ton mit langem Hals, die ein typisches Merkmal dieser Kultur und auf die vorangegangenen Etappen zurückgehen. In nicht wenigen Siedlungen in Makedonien und Nordgriechenland kommen Ton - und Marmorplastiken dieser Art vor und bekunden die Anwesenheit der alten neolithischen Kultur auf der Balkanhalbinsel.

Auf einer ähnlichen Grundlage, d. h. aus der neolithischen Kultur mit bemalter Keramik, hat sich eine ähnliche Kulturgruppe in Fikir tepe im Bereich des Marmarameeres entwickelt.[22] Die Formen der Gefäße, von denen manche mit kleinen Füßen und zylindrischen Henkeln versehen sind, die schwarze polierte Oberfläche, die Knochenspatulae u.a. nähern diese Kultur der vorangegangenen Etappe Karanovo II-III in Südbulgarien an.

Wenn wir uns dem Süden, dem Ägäischen Thrakien zuwenden, finden wir eine ähnliche Kultur in Paradimi bei Komotini[23] und in Photolivos I unweit von Drama,[24] wo diese Gruppe stratigraphisch fixiert ist. Aller Warscheinlichkeit nach ist sie durch die Täler der Flüsse Mesta und Marica bis zu diesem Raum vorgedrungen, da bisher keine vorangegangenen Entwicklungsabschnitte im Gebiet des Ägäischen Thrakiens ermittelt worden sind. In Photolivos wurde die Entwicklung dieser Gruppe von einer anderen Gruppe unterbrochen, in der bemalte Keramik als regionale Erscheinung ohne Parallelen in Südbulgarien vorkommt.

Die Siedlung Vršnik in Makedonien enthält, bekanntlich, ebenfalls die Gruppe Karanovo III, die sich auf der Grundlage des vorangegangenen Stadiums mit bemalter und der folgenden Etappe mit kannelierter Keramik entwickelt hat.[25]

Auf Grund der erwähnten Tatsachen ist durchaus berechtigt zu folgern, daß die Gruppe Karanovo III sich auf der Grundlage des Entwicklungsabschnitts mit bemalter Keramik vom Typ Karanovo I, und ihrer Fortsetzung Karanovo II, gebildet während ihrer verschiedenen Entwicklungsabschnitte entfaltet und in verschiedenen Richtungen verbreitet hat. Dies gilt vor allem für Südbulgarien, Dort kommen Siedlungen vor, deren Leben eben mit Karanovo III oder etwas früher, während des Übergangs von Karanovo II zu Karanovo III beginnt, wie z.B. Veselinovo.

Wir sind auf die Gruppe Karanovo III näher eingegangen, da gerade sie die typischste schwarz polierte Keramik und zwar in größter Menge enthält, deren Ursprung in Kleinasien gesucht wird.

Die sicheren stratigraphischen Angaben, die wir aus Karanovo, dem Tell Dipsis bei Ezero, dem Tell Azmak bei Stara Zagora, Jasa tepe und in letzter Zeit vor allem aus Kazanlak gewonnen haben, wo der Übergang von Karanovo II zu Karanovo III und die

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22) Vgl. Anm. 7.

23) M. V. GARAŠANIN und W. DEHN, Thrakisch-makedonische Wohnhügelfunde in der Sammlung des Vorgeschichtlichen Seminars zu Marburg (Lahn), Jahrb. RGMZ, 10, 1963, 2 ff.

24) C. RENFREW, The Aegean and the Balkans at the Close of the Neolithic Period (The Evidence of Photolivos), Symposium über die Entstehung und Chronologie der Badener Kultur, Nitra - Malé Vozokany, 8 - 11 Dezember 1969 (im Druck); DERS., Sitagroi and the Independent Invention of Metallurgy in Europe, Actes du VIIIe Congres International des Sciences Prehistoriques et Protohistoriques, Beograd, 9 - 15. IX. 1971 (im Druck) und von persönlicher Wahrnehmung.

25) Vgl. Anm. 3.

Gruppe Karanovo III selbst durch je mehrere Wohnhorizonte vertreten sind, bestätigen überzeugend die oben erwähnte Schlußfolgerung über den Ursprung dieser Kulturgruppe. In Kazanlak ist auch die Verbindung von Karanovo I (Tell Azmak - Variante) mit Karanovo II-III nachgewiessen. Diese Tatsache bestätigt den autochtonen Ursprung von Karanovo III.

Aus den bisherigen Ausführungen ist zu ersehen, daß die Entwicklung der Kultur des Neolithikums in Südbulgarien und in den benachbarten Gebieten (Makedonien, Ägäisches Thrakien und West-Kleinasien), wo nahe analoge Erscheinungen dieser Entwicklung vorkommen, sich ohne Unterbrechung vollzogen hat. Dadurch verpflichtet uns die Archäologie zur Annahme, daß die Einwohner dieses Gebietes vom Anfang des Neolithikums (Karanovo I) bis zum Ende der Etappe Karanovo III ein und denselben Ursprung gehabt hat.

Die Entwicklung der neolithischen Kultur in Südbulgarien dauert auch während der Etappe Karanovo IV weiter fort. Die Kultur dieses Abschnitts ist nicht gründlich untersucht. Daher können keine Angaben in ausreichender Anzahl über ihre Verbindung mit der vorangegangenen Etappe Karanovo II und der darauf folgenden Etappe Karanovo V (Marica) angeführt werden. Es liegen aber neue archäologische Angaben aus Kalojanovec, Bezirk Stara Zagora, aus einer neu entdeckten Siedlung in der Umgebung von Nova Zagora, aus einer Siedlung beim Staudamm Catalka, Bezirk Stara Zagora, und in letzter Zeit aus der weiten Siedlung um den Bereket-Siedlungshügel vor, der sich in unmittelbarer Nähe von Stara Zagora befindet.[26] Diese Angaben zeigen die genetischen Verbindungen dieser Gruppe. Ihr Ausdehnungsbereich ist ebenfalls noch nicht sicher bestimmt. Bekannt ist aber, daß er sich mit dem ursprünglichen Gebiet der vorangegangenen Gruppe Karanovo III deckt. Die Endpunkte der Ausdehnung befinden sich östlich, bei der Umgebung von Edirne (Türkisches Thrakien) und westlich bis Makedonien[27]. Im Ägäischen Thrakien, z. B. in Photolivos, ist diese Etappe des Karanovschen chronologischen Systems nicht vertreten. Im stratigraphischen Profil dieser Siedlung zwischen den Kulturschichten II und III (= Karanovo V - VI) kommt ein Hiatus vor.

Da der Inhalt dieser Gruppe, wie bereits erwähnt, nicht ausführlich untersucht worden ist, sind die äußeren Verbindungen und Wechselbeziehungen mit den Kulturgruppen der benachbarten Gebiete nicht eindeutig ermittelt. Daher ist nicht mit Sicherheit festzustellen, ob das Neue, das in dieser Gruppe in den Vordergrund tritt, und zwar die eingeschnittene und inkrustierte, auf die vorangegangenen Etappen zurückgehende Keramik, ein Entwicklungsergebnis ist, was wir anzunehmen geneigt sind, oder durch einen äußeren Einfluß hervorgerufen wurde.

Relativ chronologisch stimmt Karanovo IV mit den Anfangsstadien der Kultur Bojan (Rumänien) und der Kultur Vinča-Tordoš (Jugoslawien) überein.

Wir haben einige Momente verzeichnet, die sich auf die Gruppe Karanovo IV beziehen, um zu betonen, daß eine Kontinuität in der Entwicklung der neolithischen Kultur und, folglich, auch ihrer Träger während ihres Übergangs zum Äneolithikum besteht.

2. Die Kulturgruppe Karanovo V (Marica) wurzelt in Karanovo IV. Demnach ist auch ihr Ursprung autochthon.

Die Entdeckung des Kupfers und der Anfang der primitiven Metallgewinnung in Thrakien und auf der Balkanhalbinsel hatte, obwohl sie keine Revolution in der Produktion auslöste, eine wichtige Bedeutung im Leben der Stämme im östlichen Teil der Balkan-

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26) Die Funde, welche sich in den Museen in Nova Zagora und zumeist in Stara Zagora befinden, sind noch nicht vollständig publiziert.

27) Vgl. G. I. GEORGIEV, Verbreitung und Entwicklung, 222 f.

28) G. I. GEORGIEV, Über einige Produktionswerkzeuge, 381 ff.

halbinsel[28]. Sie trug zur Vereinheitlichung der Kultur in einem weiten Gebiet bei und ermöglichte ihre Unabhängigkeit von der Kultur der benachbarten Räume.

Ein Ausdruck des in der materiellen und geistigen Kultur der Stämme während des frühen Äneolithikums eingetretenen Aufschwungs sind die Anfäge einer Art von Schrift, die in letzter Zeit in Gradešnica, Bezirk Vraca, entdeckt wurden[29]. Wie bekannt kommen noch in der westbulgarischen neolithischen Kultur mit bemalter Keramik (Čadvar im Bezirk Sofia, Devetak-Höhle im Bezirk Lovec)) symbolische Zeichen auf Keramikfragmenten vor. Auch in den Gruppen Karanovo III und IV sind ähnliche Zeichen auf dem Boden der Gefäße oder auf kultischen Gegenständen, vor allem auf Idolen bekannt[31]. Aus Karanovo VI, das nach dem Verfahren C 14 um das Ende des 4. und den Anfang des 3. Jahrtausends v. u. Z. datiert wurde, stammt ein Tonstempel (Pintadera) mit Zeichen, die den späteren (um die Mitte des 3. Jahrtausends v. u. Z.) kretischen Hieroglyphen und piktographischen Zeichen analog sind.[32] Die bisher aufgezählten Zeichen, sowie jene, die zur Kultur von Körös in Ungarn und zur späteren Kultur Vinča-Tordoš gehören, zeigen, daß diese Zeichen in Südosteuropa bereits zur Zeit des Altneolithikums und vor allem während des (frühen und späten) Äneolithikums bestanden haben. Folglich gehen sie den ähnlichen, im östlichen Mittelmeerraum und besonders in Kleinasien entdeckten Zeichen voraus. Wie wir bereits erwähnten, sind die Zeichen auf den Täfelchen aus Tartaria, wie es in der Archäologie üblich ist, nach dem jüngsten Gegenstand zu datieren, der mit den Täfelchen in einer «Opfergrube» gefunden wurde. Dies ist ein Tongegenstand in der Form eines Ankers, dessen Zugehörigkeit zum Inventar der Frühbronzezeit im Ägäischen und im Raum der Unteren Donau unstrittig ist. Wenn diese Datierung unannehmbar erscheint, da derartige Tendenzen bei manchen Verfassern zu beobachten sind, so ist daraus unweigerlich zu folgern, daß die Stratigraphie der Täfelchen und der mit ihnen gefundenen Gegenstände ungenau ist. Zu diesem Gedanken regen uns auch manche der gefundenen Idole an, die mit einer pastenartigen Farbe überzogen und eher zur Kultur Petrešti alà zu Vinča-Tordoš zu rechnen sind.

Diese Abschweifung wird durch die Tatsache veranlanlaßt, daß in letzter Zeit mit Nachdruck auf die Zugehörigkeit der Täfelchen mit Zeichen aus Tartaria nicht zur Kultur während des Anfangs der Frühbronzezeit, zu der in diesem Gebiet Cotofeni gehört, sondern zur Kultur Vinča-Tordoš hingewiesen wird.[33] Diese Zeichen werden mit ähnlichen Zeichen aus Uruk IV in Mesopotamien in Verbindung gebracht, deren jüngstes Datum nach dem Verfahren C 14, das Jahr 2810 v. u. Z., der Kultur Vinča-Tordoš zugeordnet wird. Es liegen aber viele Angaben vor, die die vorbehaltlose Annahme dieser Behauptung nicht gestatten.

Wir verfügen über ausreichendes archäologisches Material über diese Kulturgruppe und sind daher in der Lage, eine genaue Charakteristik zu geben. In diesem Rahmen wollen wir uns mit dem Wichtigsten begnügen.

Es wurden alle alten technischen Verfahren zur Ornamentierung von Gefäßen verwendet, die aus den vorangegangenen Etappen ererbt worden sind. Zum ersten Mal findet

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29) B. NIKOLOV, VL. GEORGIEV, Načenki na pismenost pres halkolitnata epoha w našite zemi (Débuts d'écriture du Chalcolithique dans les terres bulgares), Arheologija, XII, 3, 1970, 1 ff.

30) V. MIKOV, N. DJAMBAZOV, Devetaškata pešter a, Sofia 1960, Abb. 31 und Taf. I (farbig).

31) Unpublizierte Funde von dem Fundort Karanovo selbst im Nationalmuseum für Archäologie in Sofia.

32) V. MIKOV, G. I. GEORGIEV, V. I. GEORGIEV, Nadpišat wrhu krglija pečat ot Karanovo — nai-drewnata pismenost w Ewropa, Arheologija 1960, I, 4 ff.; G. I. GEORGIEV, Der Tonstempel von Karanovo, L'Ethnogenèse des peuples balkaniques, Studia Balcanica, 5, Sofia 1971, 289.

33) VI. MILOJČIĆ, Die absolute Chronologie der Yungsteinzeit in Südosteuropa und die Ergebnisse der Radiocarbon- (C 14-) Methode, Jahrb. RGMZ, 14, 1967, 20 f.

in dieser Zeit der Graphit dafür Verwendung. Die Graphitkeramik ist, bekanntlich, eines der typischen Merkmale der archäologischen Komplexe Karanovo V-VI und Bojan - Gumelnita (Salkuta). Die Grenzen dieser Keramik reichen in nordwestlicher Richtung bis Bolgrad, östlich des Flusses Prut, im Südwesten bis zu den Becken der Flüsse Vardar - Morava, im Süden bis zur Halbinsel Chalkidike und zu den Küsten des Ägäischen Meeres (Stivos B und Paradimi).[34]

Die Ausgrabungen in Dikilitas[35] und Photolivos bestimmten die stratigraphische Lage der Etappen Karanovo V-VI im Ägäischen Thrakien und zeigten die Verbindung dieses Teiles Nordgriechenlands mit Südbulgarien. Die äneolithische Kultur ist, ähnlich wie die Gruppe Karanovo III, durch die Täler der Flüsse Mesta und Marica in diesen Raum eingedrungen. Ein anderer Weg für ihre Ausbreitung ist in diesem Gebiet nicht vorhanden, da westlich dieser Gruppe sich die Kultur Dimini und östlich, in Kleinasien, zu dieser Zeit, bekanntlich, keine Graphitkeramik vorkommt. Eine Bestätigung dieser Feststellung liefern auch die Ausgrabungen in Photolivos, wo neben der Graphitkeramik auch bemalte Keramik des Typs Akropotamos und Galepsos gefunden wurde, die eine kontinentale griechische Erscheinung aus der Zeit des Äneolithikums ist.[36] In letzter Zeit wurde eine ähnliche Keramik auf der Oberrfläche mancher Siedlungen am unteren Lauf des Flusses Struma, Bezirk Blagoevgrad, entdeckt.[37] Diese Tatsache zeigt, daß diese Art der Keramik sich in nördlicher und südöstlicher Richtung verbreitet hat und daß ihre Träger sich mit den Einwohnern vermischten, die die Graphitkeramik verwendeten. Ähnliche Fälle kommen auch an anderen Orten der Balkahnhalbinsel vor, z. B. am Donauufer, who die Graphitkeramik des Typs Gumelnita und die Keramik des Typs Cucuteni nebeneinander existieren und am Treffpunkt von Gumelnita mit Tripole bei Bolgrad und an anderen Orten nebeneinander bestand.

Die Formen, die Verzierung und die technische Herstellung der Gefäße in Karanovo V in Südbulgarien und in Photolivos III sowie Dikilitas im Ägäischen Thrakien sind einander völlig gleich mit Ausnahme einiger örtlicher Besonderheiten der Keramik in den beiden geographischen Gebieten.

Daher ist es für uns sehr leicht, die E i n h e i t l i c h k e i t der Einwohner anzunehmen, die dieses weite Gebiet mit dem annähernd umrissenen Grenzen während des frühen Äneolithikums besiedelten (Karanovo V, Photolivos III, Dikilitas).

Wie wir bereits mehrfach betont haben, besteht zwischen Karanovov und Karanovo VI, ähnlich wie zwischen Bojan und Gumelnita, eine Kontinuität in der Entwicklung der Kultur, folglich auch der Einwohner während des späten Äneolithikums. Ähnlich ist der Fall auch im Ägäischen Thrakien.

Die Kupfermetallurgie erreichte in diesem Zeitalter ihren Höhepunkt im weiten Verbreitungsgebiet der Kultur, wo reiche Erzlagerstätten ausgebeutet wurden. Die gegenständlichen Beweise, auf die sich diese Behauptung stützt, sind zahlreich. In der Siedlung Karanovo VI wurden, z. B., Barren aus geschmiedetem Kupfer in rechteckigen Formen entdeckt, die für die Herstellung von Geräten und Schmuck Verwendung fanden. In Ruse ist ein Depotfund aus Kupfernadeln mit spiralförmig eingebogenen Enden geborgen wor-

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34) D. H. FRENCH, Late Chalcolithic Pottery in North-West Turkey and the Aegean, Anatolian Studies Vol. XI, 1961, 103 ff.

35) Unpublizierte Funde im Museum zu Philiphi. Vgl. dazu auch M. V. GARASANIN - W. DEHN, Thrakisch - makedonische Wohnhügelfunde, 12 ff.

36) J. DESHAUES, M. GARAŠANIN, Note sur la céramique de Galepsos, Bull. Corr. hell. 88, 1964, 51 ff.

37) D. STOJANOVA - SERAFIMOVA, Praistoričeski selišta kraj Blagoevgrad (Sites préhistoriques près de Blagoevgrad), Arheologija, XII, 2, 1970, 71 ff. Abb. 3.

den, die zu den örtlichen Erzeugnissen gehören.[38] Die technologischen Untersuchungen von Kupfergegenständen aus dem Donaugebiet der Balkanhalbinsel von J.A. Charles und C. Renfrew zeigen, daß die Kultur der Stämme während des Äneolithikums in Südosteuropa zu einer selbständigen Entwicklung gelangt ist, die sich unabhängig von den benachbarten Räumen vollzog[39]. Natürlich drangen gewisse Einflüsse, darunter der Urfirnis der Graphitkeramik in die Siedlungen um den Varna-See von außen ein.

Auf Grund der sicheren und eindeutigen stratigraphischen Beobachtungen, die wir aus den Ausgrabungen einer Reihe von Siedlungen in Nord-und vor allem in Südbulgarien, in letzter Zeit auch im Ägaischen Thrakien gewonnen haben, sind wir der Meinung, daß das Äneolithikum sich auf der Balkanhalbinsel synchron zum Halkolithikum in Westkleinasien und Nordgriechenland entwickelt hat.

3. Wir wollen ganz kurz auch auf einige Fragen aus der Geschichte der Stämme zu Anfang der Bronzezeit eingehen.

Während das Leben in den Siedlungen Nordwestbulgariens und Olteniens (Rumänien) in der Übergangszeit Äneolithikum-Bronzezeit kontinuierlich fortdauerte, ist dies in den Siedlungen Südbulgariens und des Ägäischen Thrakiens nicht der Fall. Die weiten Flächen, die stratigraphisch in den Siedlungshügeln Karanovo, Tell Dipsis und an anderen Orten Südbulgariens freigelegt wurden, sowie die stratigraphischen Probegrabungen im Ägäischen Thrakien zeigten, daß einige spätäneolithische Siedlungen kurze Zeit unbewohnt waren und darauf von neuem besiedelt wurden. Die Ursachen dieser zeitweiligen Unterbrechung sind völlig geklärt. Der letzte Wohnhorizont, z. B. im Tell Dipsis wurde durch einen Brand vernichtet. Dies könnte auf eine zwangsläufige Aussiedlung hinweisen. In diesem Fall wäre, folglich, an eine gewisse ethnische Verschiebung von Stämmen um das Ende des Äneolithikums im östlichen Teil der Balkanhalbinsel und in Westkleinasien zu denken, die zur Vermischung der Einwohner und zur Entstehung einer neuen «archäologischen Kultur» geführt hat. Bei der Betrachtung einiger ihrer Erscheinungen, z. B. des Wohnungsbaus, zum Teil auch der Keramik, erscheint sie auf den ersten Blick auf einem niedrigeren Entwicklungsstand als die vorangegangene Kultur des Äneolithikums. Die Kultur aus der ersten Hälfte der Bronzezeit stand eigentlich auf einer höheren Stufe. Sie wurde durch viele neue technische und kulturelle Errungenschaften bereichert, deren Erscheinung in der vorangegangenen Epoche wurzelt einige davon auch von benachbarten Kulturen stammen können. In diesem Fall denken wir an die wachsende Entwicklung der Kupfermetallurgie und vor allem an die Erfindung der Bronze, die Entfaltung der Viehzucht, die damit verbundene Zähmung des Pferdes, die Einführung des Wagens als Transportmittel u.a. Alle diese und viele andere eingeführten Neuheiten und Erscheinungen wie, z. B., die zunehmenden Kontakte zwischen den Stämmen durch den Austausch von Naturalien, führten zum weiteren Aufbau der Lebensführung und zur Entstehung der Schrift in Griechenland und Kleinasien. Die Gebiete der Balkanhalbinsel, einschließlich Nordgriechenlands und Westkleinasiens, blieben in dieser Hinsicht, im Vergleich zum übrigen Teil Griechenlands, zurück, wo, bekanntlich, die Linearschriften A und B geschaffen wurden, die genetisch miteinander verbunden sind.

Zahlreiche Elemente der Äneolithischen Kultur gingen in das Inventar der Kultur zu Anfang der Bronzezeit über. Dazu gehören, z. B., einige Gefäßformen wie Tonkannen

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38) G. GEORGIEV und N. ANGELOV, Razkopki na selišnata mogila do Ruse pres 1950 - 1953 godina (Ausgrabungen des Siedlungshügels bei Ruse in den Jahren 1950 - 1953), Bulletin de l'Institut Archeologique, XXI, 1957, Abb. 30.

39) C. RENFREW, The Autonomy of the South-East European Copper Age, Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society for 1969, Vol. XXXV, 12 ff. und Appendix I von J. A. Charles, 40 ff.; DERS., Sitagroi.

mit waagerechtem oder abgeschrägtem Mundsaum und Henkel, der am Rand des Mundsaums ansetzt oder darüber emporragt. Die Typologie dieser Gefäße ist aus der spätäneolithischen Siedlung Krivodol und anderen Siedlungen in Nordwestbulgarien und Oltenien (Salkuta) gut bekannt.[40] Ähnliche Gefäße kommen auch in den untersten Wohnhorizonten des Karanovo-Siedlungshügels, in Bestattungen der neu entdeckten Nekropole aus der Frühbronzezeit um den Bereket-Siedlungshügel in der Umgebung von Stara Zagora vor. In den ersten Wohnhorizonten des Tell Dispis bei Ezero wurden ähnliche Gefäße gefunden, die einer etwas fortgeschritteneren Typologie entsprechen. Die Askoi, deren Anfang bereits auf das Neolithikum (Tell Azmak) und besonders auf das Äneolithikum (Ruse) zurückgeführt werden kann, zeigen eine Weiterentwicklung zur typischen Gefäßform am Anfang der Bronzezeit.[41] Die in der erwähnten, zur Frühbronzezeit gehörenden Nekropole bei Stara Zagora neu entdeckten Askoi sind mit einem kegelförmigen Buckel geschmückt, der aus der Keramik des Äneolithikums ererbt wurde. Die äneolithischen Schalen mit eingezogenem Rand des Mundsaums gehören auch gegenwärtig zu den Hauptformen der Gefäße. Die eingehende Untersuchung der verschiedenartigen Gefäßformen und Ausschmückungen zum Nachweis ihres genetischen Ursprungs aus dem vorangegangenen reichen Kulturerbe würde in diesem Rahmen zu weit führen.

Wir wollen nur kurz auf die Bestattungen eingehen. Die Hockerbestattungen, die bereits auf das Neolithikum zurückgehen und aus einigen äneolithischen Nekropolen in Nordostbulgarien gut bekannt sind,[42] kommen auch zu Anfang der Bronzezeit vor (Ezero). Einige Hockerbestattungen beim Bereket-Siedlungshügel wurden, ähnlich wie die äneolithischen Hockerbestattungen in Ruse oder aus der Kultur der mit rotem Ocker bestreuten Hockerbestattungen in Nordosteuropa zu Anfang der Bronzezeit, ebenfalls mit rotem Ocker bestreut. Bei manchen Hockerbestattungen in Ezero kommen Schmuckgegenstände aus Marmor und aus Dentalium wie in den Bestattungen der Baden-Kultur vor. Nicht zufällig blieben die alte Bestattungsbräuche und Glaubensäußerungen längere Zeit erhalten. Sie gehören, bekanntlich, zu den konservativsten Erscheinungen und verändern sich nur sehr langsam.

Infolge der neuen Entwicklungsrichtungen des wirtschaftlichen Lebens, und zwar durch das Überwiegen der Viehzucht gegenüber dem Ackerbau, räumte die anthromorphe Plastik in einigen geographischen Gebieten der zoomorphen Plastick den Raum ein. In geographisch geschlossenen Gebieten wie z. B. die ägaischen Inseln, blieb die anthropomorphe Plastik, wenn auch weitgehend schematisiert, bis zum Anfang der Bronzezeit erhalten (Thermi auf Lesbos).[43] Diese Tatsache spricht deutlich für die Macht der Tradition aus der Zeit des Äneolithikums.

Die chronologische Stellung der Frühbronzekultur in Südbulgarien, im Ägäischen Thrakien und in Westkleinasien, (dem Gebiet von Troja) wurde durch die sichere Stra-

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40) G. I. GEORGIEV, Die äneolithische Kultur in Südbulgarien im Lichte der Ausgrabungen vom Tell Azmak bei Stara Zagora, Studijné Zvesti Archeologického Ustavu Slovenskej Akadémie Vied, 17, 1969, Abb. 12 - 14

41) G. I. GEORGIEV, Kulturgruppen, 54 f. und Anm. 40, 41.

42) Z. B. RUSI (GEORGIEV - ANGELOV, op. cit., 112 ff.), Kubrat (V. MIKOV, BIA IV, 1926/27, 251 ff.), LILJAK (D. OWČAROV, Archeologija, V, 1, 53 ff.), u.a.

43) W. LAMB, Excavations at Thermi in Lesbos, Cambridge 1936.

tigraphie aus den Ausgrabungen einer Reihe von Siedlungen, vor allem von Karanovo und besonders auch von Ezero, bestimmt. Die Schichten dieser Kultur liegen über der Kulturschicht des Äneolithikums (Karanovo VI) oder, genauer in der Zeit nach der Unterbrechung der Kultur.

Die von uns früher betonten Ähnlichkeiten zwichen der Frühbronzekultur in Thrakien und den entsprechenden Kulturen in Nordgriechenland (Frühhelladikum), Makedonien (Frühmakedonische Periode) und Westkleinasien (Troja I- IV) wurden durch Vergleiche zwischen Fundkomplexen aus Wohnhorizonten (Wohnungen, Geräte, Keramik, Schmuck, kultische Gegenstände, Bestattungen u. a.) und nicht aus Einzelfunden (z. B. Kupfernalden mit beiderseitig eingebogenen Enden, schematisierten und entarteten kleinen menschlichen Figuren) ermittelt, mit denen sich einige Verfasser begnügen[44].

Die bisher veröffentlichten Funde aus Ezero und die Untersuchungen des übrigen Materials, die wir durchgeführt haben, zeigen, wie bereits erwähnt, daß die Etappe Ezero Troja I (letzte Etappen) synchron ist.[45] Wir schließen die ersten Etappen von Troja aus, da, unseres Erachtens, darin die halkolitische Kultur mit gemalten Ornamenten vertreten ist, wodurch sie sich einigen Arten der Keramik in Nordgriechenland und Makedonien aus derselben Zeit annähert

Poliochni «blau» auf der Insel Lemnos repräsentiert eine Kultur vom Anfang der Bronzezeit, die starke äneolithische Traditionen aufweist und auch mit Ezero I, und zwar viel mehr als mit Troja I selbst verglichen werden kann.[46]

In der zweiten Etappe von Ezero entstanden neben allen aus dem Anfangsabschnitt ererbten Lebensformen oder überwogen vielmehr einige Elemente, z.B. Gefäße mit Schnurkeramik. Um die Entstehung dieser Art von Verzierung auf der Balkanhalbinsel und zum Teil in Griechenland zu klären, sind eingehendere Erörterungen erforderlich. Wir begnügen uns nur mit der Feststellung, daß das Zentrum dieser Keramik sich entweder im östlichen Teil der Balkanhalbinsel befand und daß sie als selbständiger Abschnitt in der Kulturentwicklung während der ersten Hälfte der Bronzezeit zu betrachten ist, oder - was wahrscheinlicher ist - daß diese Art von Keramik mit einigen anderen Funden aus den nördlichen Pontischen Steppen in diesen Raum eingedrungen ist. Schnurkeramik kommt auf Gefäßen der Frühbonzezeit in den Pfahlbauten um den Varna-See vor. In diesem Gebiet wurden, bekanntlich, Steinstelen mit Menschendarstellungen gefunden, die ebenfalls aus dem Nordosten eingedrungen sind.[47] In Westkleinasien (Troja) ist bisher keine Sschnurkeramik entdeckt worden. In der Zentralen Balkanhalbinsel und den südlichen Teilen der Halbinsel kommt diese Keramik sporadisch vor.[48] Die Siedlung Michalić bei Svilengrad, die in der zweiten Etappe von Ezero Platz findet, enthält ebenfalls Schnurkeramik.[49] In dem dieser Sieldung benachbarten Fundort wurden, be-

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44) Vl. DUMITRESCU, The Chronological Relation between the Cultures of the Eneolithic Lower Danube and Anatolia and the Near East, AJA, 74, 1970, 43 ff.

45) G. I. GEORGIEV, Beiträge, 100 ff. und die dort angegebene Literatur.

49) L. BERNABO - BREA, Poliochni, I, Roma 1964.

47) G. TONČEVA, Novootkriti antropomorfni ploči kraj s. Ezerovo, Warnensko (Plaques anthropomorphes récemment decouvertes près d'Ezerovo, Region de Varna), Bulletin du Musée National à Varna, III (XVIII), 1967, 3 ff Auf. Abb. 9 dieses Aufsatzes sind Gefässe mit Schnurverzierung aus Ezerovo angegeben.

48) VL. MILOJČIĆ, Zur Frage der Schnurkeramik in Griechenland, Germania, 33, 1955, 151 ff.

49) V. MIKOV, Predistoričeskoto selište do s. Michalič, Svilengradsko (Fouilles du site prehistorique près de Mikhalitch), Fouilles et Recherches, I, 1948, Abb. 8.

kanntlich, Becher des sogenannten Trojanischen Typs entdeckt, die zu den Bechern aus Troja II analog sind.[50] Diese Becher sind aus Troja eingeführt oder, was wahrscheinlicher ist, nach trojanischen Vorbildern gefertigt worden. Sichere Muster von Bechern des trojanischen Typs wurden in Ezero nicht gefunden. Da aber die stratigraphische Lage von Michalić in Ezero feststeht, wird auch die Beziehung von Ezero zu Troja II mittelbar bestimmt.

Die genauere Synchronisierung von Ezero II mit den Kulturen der Frühbronzezeit im östlichen Mittelmeerraum, genauer mit Thermi auf Lesbos und dadurch mit Troja zeigt ein Tongefäß mit Deckel und grauschwarz polierter Oberfläche und ein Deckel eines ähnlichen Gefäßes, die in den letzten Jahren in Ezero entdeckt wurden. Eine vollständige Analogie zum Gefäß aus Ezero finden wir in Thermi IV-V aus der gleichen Zeit von Troja II.[52] Auf Grund dieser Tatsachen neigen wir zur Annahme, daß während der Etappe Ezero II gegenseitige Beziehungen zwischen Thrakien und Westkleinasien bestanden haben, wobei die Einflüsse seitens Troja II stärker waren, da es zu jener Zeit als wichtiges strategisches und Kulturzentrum den Übergang von Europa nach Asien bei den Dardanellen bewachte. Das Befestigungssystem Trojas, die Einführung der Töpferscheibe, die Goldschätze und andere Leistungen bestätigen die Macht von Troja II.

Die Kyrillovo genannte dritte Etappe von Ezero weist eine selbständigere Entwicklung in Südbulgarien auf. Ihre Kultur ist eine unmittelbare Fortsetzung der vorangegangenen Kulturetappe. Es kommen keramische Formen vor, die unzweideutig darauf hinweisen, daß diese Etappe parallel zu Troja III-IV verlief.

Zahlreiche Analogien bestehen auch zwischen der Kultur der Siedlungen aus der Frühbronzezeit in Südbulgarien und Makedonien, worauf wir in diesem Zusammenhang nicht eingehen.

Die Stratigraphie von Photolivos IV and V lieferte ein reiches Material für Vergleiche mit Südbulgarien und den benachbarten Gebieten.[53] Photolivos IV enthält eine Kultur, die keine Graphitkeramik kennt. Photolivos V ebenso. In Photolivos IV ist, unseres Erachtens, eine Kultur des Übergangs Äneolithikum-Bronzezeit und der Anfang der Bronzezeit vertreten. Demnach hat das Leben in der Siedlung früher als in Ezero I eingesetzt. Photolivos V, das zwei Entwicklungsetappen aufweist, ist mit Ezero synchron. Vorläufig sind wir nicht in der Lage, die Synchronisation genau zu bestimmen, da das Material in seiner Gesamtheit noch nicht veröffentlicht ist. Die apsidenartigen Wohnstätten, die in Photolivos Va entdeckt wurden, entsprechen jedenfalls ähnlichen Wohnstätten in Ezero III.[54]

Die angeführten Beispiele zeigen unbestreitbar eine Gemeinschaft der Kultur in Südbulgarien und Nordgriechenland. Wahrscheinlich hatten auch ihre Träger einen gemeinsamen oder verwandten Ursprung. Die Kultur dieser Gebiete ist als balkanisch anatolisch zu bezeichnen, während die Kultur des Äneolithikums diese Bezeichnung nicht beanspruchen kann.

Zusammenfassend halten wir es für notwendig, folgendes zu betonen:

1. Für die richtige Untersuchung der Frage von den ältesten Bewohnern der Balkanhalbinsel und vor allem bezüglich ihres autochthonen Ursprungs ist die Tatsache bedeut-

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50) V. MIKOV, Mikhalitch, Abb. 12.

51) N. J. MERPERT, G. I. GEORGIEV, Die Siedlung Ezero und ihre Stellung in der Frühbronzezeit Südosteuropa, Symposium über die Enstehung und Chronologie der Badener Kultur, Nitra - Malé Vozokany, 8 - 11. Dezember, 1969 (im Druck).

52) W. LAMB, op. cit., Pl. X, 481.

53) Vgl. Anm. 24.

54) C. RENFREW, The Burnt House at Sitagroi, Antiquity, 1971, pl. XIX, d.

sam, daß die Anzahl der Stationen mit Funden aus den verschiedenen Etappen des Paläolithikums, vor allem aus dem Jungpaläolithikum, in letzter Zeit wesentlich zugenommen hat. Umfangreiche paläolithische Fundstätten wurden in Nordostbulgarien und vor allem am Donauufer und im Rhodopen-Gebirgsmassiv entdeckt. In Nordgriechenland (Epiros, Thessalien und auf der Chalkidike-Halbinsel) ist ihre Anzahl geringer.

2. Unter Berücksichtigung der linguistischen Angaben (D. Dečev, Vl. Georgiev u.a.), wonach die ältesten Ackerbauer auf der Balkanhalbinsel Indoeuropäer gewesen sind,[55] erhalten wir das folgende ethnische Bild des untersuchten Gebiets:

a) Während des Neolithikums bis zur Frühbronzezeit wurde das Gebiet des heutigen Südbulgariens von den Prototh r ä k e r n (Th r a k e r n) bewohnt, die bis zum Marmarameer, Ägäischen Thrakien und zur Chalkidike-Halbinsel reichten. Im Becken des Flusses Haliakmon, wo die neolithische Siedlung Nea Nikomedeia liegt, bestanden die Einwohner aus Protomakedoniern (Makedoniern). Diese ethnischen Gruppen stimmen archäologisch mit den entsprechenden, weiter oben beschriebenen archäologischen Kulturkomplexen und Gruppen überein;

b) Wie die Aussführungen zeigen, hat sich die Kultur in den einzelnen geographischen Gebieten während derselben Epochen entwickelt. In den älteren Zeitaltern (Neolithikum und Äneolithikum), in denen der Ackerbau als Hauptwirtschaftsform vorherrschte, war die Migration der Stämme eine seltenere Erscheinung. Größere Migrationen in längeren Entfernungen erfolgten, wie erwähnt, um den Anfang der Bronzezeit. Sie dauerten bis zum Ende dieser Zeit und zum Anfang der Eisenzeit an, in der die thrakischen Stämme sich endgültig in ihren Wohnstätten niederließen, wo sie die schriftliche Überlieferung lokalisiert. Trotz des Eindringens oder des Durchzugs verschiedener Stammesgruppen ist der Südöstliche Teil der Balkanhalbinsel immer von Thrakern bewohnt gewesen;

c) Wenn wir die oben erwähnte Verteilung der Stämme vom Ende des 6. bis zum Ende de 2 Jahrtausends v. u. Z. im genannten Gebiet annehmen, so kann von einem «Einfall» der Griechen oder von anderen vorgriechischen Indoeuropäischen Stämmen aus Norden in das eigentliche Griechenland (das «urgriechische Gebiet») keine Rede sein, da dieser Raum seit den ältesten Zeiten von den Pelasgen (Lelegen), den ältesten Bewohnern dieses Teiles Griechenlands bewohnt wurde, wie wir aus der antiken Überlieferung feststellen.

Daraus ergibt sich die Annahme, daß die Protogriechen Nordostgriechenland bewohnt haben und um das Ende der Frühhelladischen und zu Anfang der Mittelhelladischen Zeit, d. h. um das Ende des 3. und zu Anfang des 2. Jahrtausends v.u.Z. nach Zentral - und Südgriechenland eingewandert sind.[56] In dieser Frage vertreten die Archäologen und Sprachwissenschaftler, bekanntlich, ein und dieselbe Auffassung.

d) Auf Grund der archäologischen und linguistischen Angaben gelangen wir zur logischen Schlußfolgerung, daß die ersten Indoeuropäer bereits während des Neolithikums das Gebiet Südbulgariens Nord Griechenlands und Makedoniens bewohnt haben und daß sie, folglich, autochthone Einwohner sind.

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55) Vl. I. GEORGIEV, Issledovanija po sravnitelno-istoričeskomu jazikoznaniü, Moskva 1958, 274.
56) Vl. GEORGIEV, op. cit., 110 .

THE HOMERIC «WINDY ENISPE» AND THE FIRST INVASION OF INDOEUROPEANS INTO GREECE

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The subject of this Colloquium, namely the first invasion of Indoeuropeans into Greece, can be approached, I think, in two main ways. Either by a retrogressive calculation of the sequence of the events starting from the historical period of Greece and using linguistic material or by a progressive examination of the cultural development in the different districts of Greece starting from the first inhabitation of the country by human beings down to historical times on the basis of excavation data, habitation or burial remains and skeletons.

Arcadia, a recessed area and thus unaffected by seaborne influences as regards archaeological data and unmolested by the Dorian invasion as regards linguistic material, placed in addition at the southern end of the Balkan Peninsula, offers, in my opinion, a very interesting area for the examination of our subject whichever of the abovementioned two ways of approach should be chosen in our enquiry.

This is why I have chosen to present before you the data of a still unpublished settlement in North-Western Arcadia, inhabited from Neolithic down to Late Helladic III C 2, which in my opinion, can be identified as the Homeric town «windy Enispe», the place which has been searched for many centuries.

The problem of the first appearance into Southern Greece of the Indoeuropeans is illuminated also, I think, by the data of this settlement because during the Middle Helladic times the site, to judge by the abundance of the Minyan and the so-called Adriatic ware, is inhabited more intensively. This indication from North-Western Arcadia added to the conclusions of Holmberg from Asea in South-Eastern Arcadia, and of Valmi' s from Malhi in Messenia, corroborates the opinion that the makers of the two kinds of pottery mentioned, if indeed Indoeuropeans, were extensively installed all over the Peloponnese from the beginning of the Middle Helladic period.

The site of the settlement which I will describe and try to identify as the Homeric Enispe is a rocky hill on a ridge of the southern slope of Mount Aphrodision about two kilometers north-east of the village of Demetra, formerly Divritsa, in the district of modern Gortynia that occupies part of ancient Azania. The hill commands one of the three or four possible passes over the middle Ladon River, inaccessible in that part if its bed on account of its steep banks but flowing at a distance of about two kilometers south of the hill. (Fig. 1)

Digging in 1939 during a road construction on the eastern slope of the hill, brought to light considerable prehistoric remains. The latter remained unnoticed at the time of their discovery until 1942 when I chanced to visit the site and collect from among the cuttings a number of prehistoric sherds. These I mentioned briefly in my work Prehistory of the Peloponnese under item DEMETRA.

Deep in the rocky core of the hill, a huge subterranean cave is formed, accessible through narrow openings on the south-eastern slope of the hill. The modern name of the hill, Troupes (holes), derives from this fact. East of the hill runs the deep bed of Kako Langadi Brook, and another torrent is formed about half a kilometer west of the hill; both flow southwards into the Ladon. Most of the arable soil of the prehistoric settlement lies on

the island formed by the two streams on two sides and the bed of the Ladon in the south.

Moreover, on the Aghios Elias Peak, west of the village of Demetra, which commands the view all over the area of the Middle Ladon, there are fortification walls of a Late Helladic appearance which have foregone notice up to the present day.

If the fortification walls on Aghios Elias are in fact LH, it is possible that during the troubled LH III B-C times, when additional security measures were also taken for other LH sites, such as Mycenae, the Acropolis of Athens, Tyrins, the Isthmus of Corinth and Eglianos, the inhabitants of the settlement north-east of Demetra must have migrated, for more security, on Aghios Elias. However, the settlement on the latter site must have been shortlived as the sparcity of pottery fragments on the spot suggests.

FIG. 1 View of the hill from NE.

FIG. 2 Fortification walls on Aghios Elias heigth west of Pemeta Enispe.

The most remarkable finds collected from the settlements are illustrated in a set of photographs which are at the disposal of the participants of this Colloquium. The material collected proves a continuous inhabitation of the site from Neolithic down to LH III C2 times when the settlement was deserted forever. MH finds are more abundant at the site. (Fig. 3 - 11).

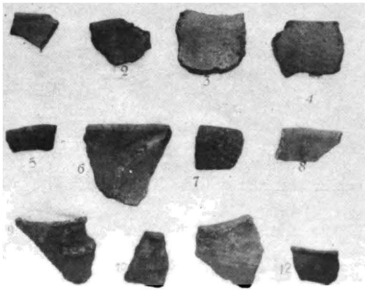


FIG. 3 Lips of undecorated Neolithik sherds from Demetra - Enispe

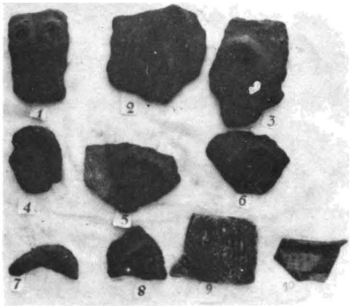


FIG. 4 Handles of undecorated Neolithic pots (No 1-8) and two painted sherds (No 9-10)

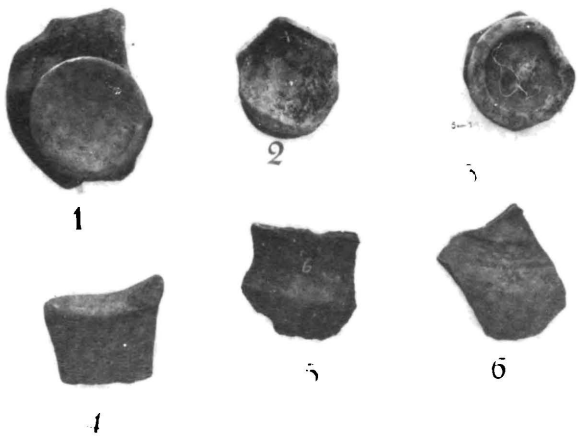


FIG. 5 Hearth Helladic sherds from Demetra - Enispe

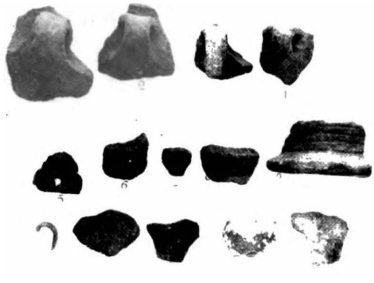


FIG. 6 M.E. Mingan sherds from Demetra-Enispe

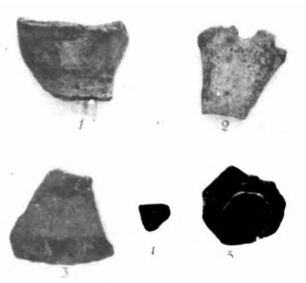


FIG. 7 Middle Helladic Matt - Painted sherds from Demetra - Enispe

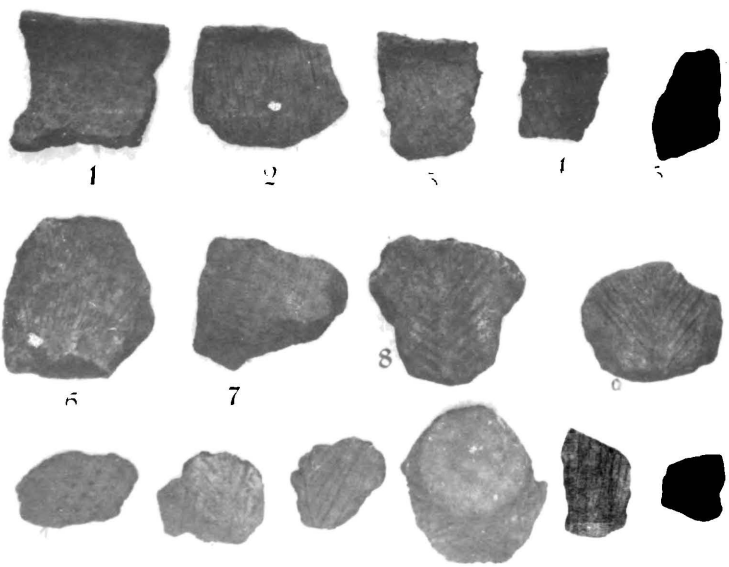


FIG. 8 Neolithic to Middle Helladic incised sherds from Demetra - Enispe.

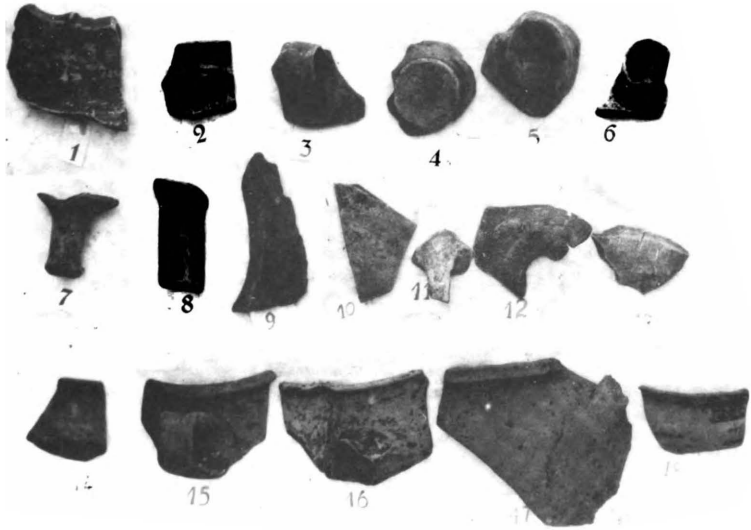
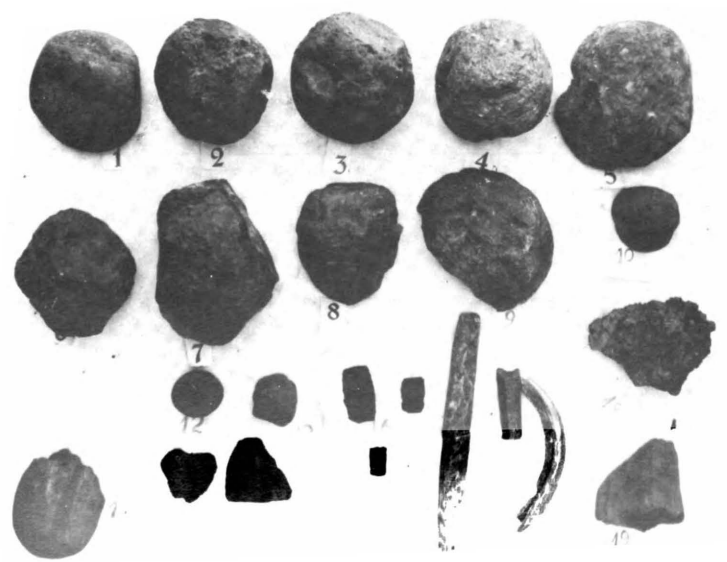


FIG. 9 Late Neolithic sherds from Demetra - Enispe

FIG. 10 Small Finds from Demetra - Enispe



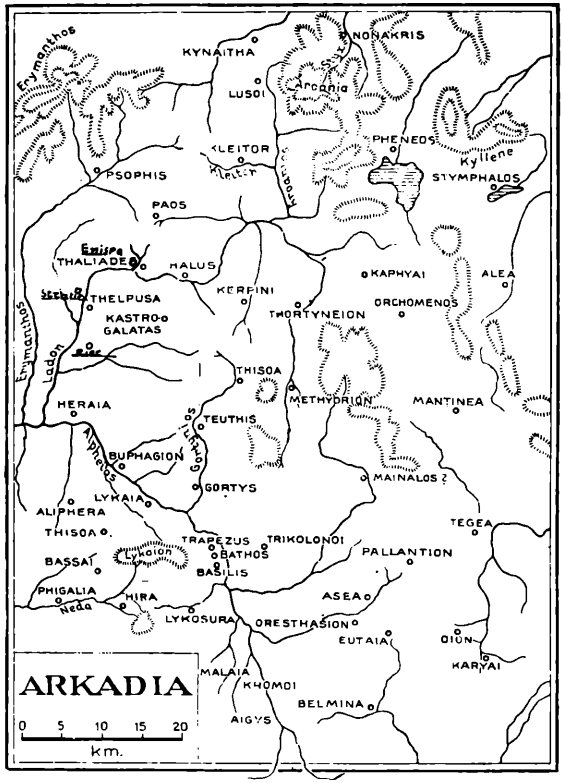


FIG. 11 Sketch Map of Arcadia (From CH. CALLMER Stud. Gesch. Arcadiens, map on page 8).

The earliest geographical, and in some way ethnological. survey of Arcadia that we possess, in identifying the settlement near Demetra, is contained in Iliad, verses B 603-609, which run as follows:

Οἱ δ' ἔχον 'Αρκαδίην ὑπό Κυλλήνης ὄρος αἰπύ,
Αἰπύτιον παρά τύμβον, ἵν' ἀνέρες ἀγχιμαχηταί,
οἵ Φενεόν τε νέμοντό καὶ 'Ορχομενὸν πολύμηλον

Ῥίπην τε Στρατίην τε καὶ ἠνεμόεσσαν 'Ενίσπην,
καὶ Τεγέην εἶχον καὶ Μαντινέην ἐρατεινήν,
Στύμφηλόν τ' εἶχον καὶ Παρρασίην ἐνέμοντο,
τῶν ἦρχ' 'Αγκαίοιο πάϊς, κρειῶν 'Αγαπήνωρ.

Of the eight Arcadian towns mentioned, Parrasie was a district in historical times Stratie, Ripe and Enispe were unknown to the Greeks of historical times, so that Strabo, remarks (VII p. 388): «Ρίπην τε Στρατίην τε καὶ ἠνεμόεσσαν Ἐνίσπην εὑρεῖν τε χαλεπόν καὶ εὑροῦσι οὐδέν ὄφελος διά τήν ἐρημίαν» and Pausanias adds: «Οἱ δέ ἥγηνται τήν Ἐνίσπην καὶ Στρατίην τε καί Ρίπην τάς ὑπό Ὁμήρου κατειλεγμένας γενέσθαι νήσους ποτέ ἐν τῷ Λάδωνι ὑπό ἀνθρώπων οἰκουμένας, ἃ οἱ πεπιστευκότες μάταια ἴστωσαν. Οὐ γάρ ἄν ποτε οὐδέ νηί παρισουμένας πορθμίδι παράσχοιτο ὁ Λάδων νήσους».

BURR (Klio, Beiheft No. 49, p. 69) remarks on Pausanias information: «Mit Recht polemisiert Pausanias gegen Meinung, als die drei Städte Inseln im Fluss Ladon gewesen sein; den der Ladon ist viel zu klein, als dass er Inseln bilden kann»; and Bölte (RE I A I, 919) adds that the claim that the three towns were islands in the Ladon was a later invention in order to explain why the three towns had disappeared.

But here, I think, is a basic misunderstanding of the meaning of the word «νῆσος» even by Pausanias himself in the sources which he criticises. And on this misunderstanding of Pausanias the two scholars mentioned have built more misunderstandings. Pausanias evidently took the word «νῆσος» in its literal meaning of island. But the ancient Greeks used the word «νῆσος» in another meaning, too, not recorded in any classical dictionary in use, as far as I know, and which denotes a piece of land included between one or two tributaries of a river and the main stream itself.

Herodotus, for example (IX 51, 1-2), when he describes the third site in which the Greek army intended to move before the battle of Plataia, namely a place between two streams forming the river Oeroe, he describes it as an Island and explains away how an island can be found inland. The same meaning is attributed to the word island by Polybius, too (II, 49,5-7), when he describes a place boundered by the Rodanos River and its affluent Isaras.

The description therefore, of the sites of the three Arcadian towns as islands on the Ladon in the sources of Pausanias must mean that we should search for the site of those towns in some areas defined by one or two tributaries of the Ladon and its main stream. The settlement near Demetra lies indeed, as described above, in such a place, namely between two tributaries of the Ladon and its main stream.

Stratie, the one of the three Arcadian towns in Iliad (B 606), has been identified with Stratos mentioned by Polybius (IV 73, 2), which according to his description must be placed on an island formed by the Ladon itself and its affluent Arsen-Patsiouria. This island is today called Stavri and lies opposite the ancient Thelpousa on the right bank of the Ladon as is the case with the settlement near Demetra from which Stavri, even though it belongs to the territory of Demetra, lies at a distance of three hours' walk in a south-western direction. The identification of Stratie-Stratos-Stavri has been accepted by Boblay (Recherches sur les ruines de la Morée, p. 124), Curtius (Peloponnesos I, 373), Hiller von Gaertringen and Burr (Klio Beiheft No. 49, p. 69). This placement of Stratie corroborates the meaning attributed to the word island as regards the place of the three Arcadian towns.

The settlement near Demetra can be identified with Enispe on the basis of a piece of information afforded by Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. Enispe. Stephanus says: «Ἐνίσπη, πόλις Ἀρκαδίας καί ἠνεμόεσσα Ἐνίσπη. νῦν δ' οὐκ ἔστι. Φασί δέ ἡ τῆς Κλειτορίας γῆς εἶναι ἡ τῆς Ψωφῖδος. Τό δέ ἐθνικόν Ἐνισπαῖος ἡ Ἐνισπίτης ἡ Ἐνισπεύς».

The territories of the two Arcadian towns Cleiter and Psophis bordered, and so their boundaries could be confused as regards Enispe, only North of the Ladon because the territory of Psophis at least, did not extend south of the Ladon. Therefore, Enispe must have been situated on the north bank of the Ladon - the same as the settlement near Demetra. On the other hand, the only boundary between the territories of Psophis and Cleiter mentioned by Pausanias is Scirai (VIII, 23, 9 and 24, 3), a town situated near the present

day village of Dechouni situated duly north of the settlement near Demetra. Therefore, the settlement under discussion is found on the southward projection of the boundary of Seiraias it reaches the bed of the Ladon and that is why it could be disputed between Psophis and Cleiter.

Hence the identification of the settlement near Demetra with Enispe seems very probable, since Enispe, according to the information contained in Pausanias's sources was situated on an island formed by the two affluents of the Ladon, just like the settlement near Demetra, and at such a point along the northern bank of the Ladon (according to the information of Stephanus of Byzantium's sources) that it could be disputed between Psophis and Cleiter, just like the place of the settlement near Demetra. As the settlement was abandoned after LH III C : 2 times, it is understandable that the site of Enispe fell into oblivion for the Greeks of historical times, as Professor Page suggested in his «History and the Homeric Iliad».

Moreover, the characteristic epithet «windy» for Enispe admirably suits the site of the prehistoric settlement near Demetra, which was exposed to the sweeping draughts both of the Kako Langadi and of the Ladon.

If the identification of Stratie with Strato — and its placing at Stavri as well as of Enispe at the site near Demetra are accepted, then we would still have to locate Ripe. For such a location a Myceneaean site near the actual village of Kalliani, mentioned in R. Hope-Simpson (A Gazeteer and Atlas of Mycenaean sites, p. 42 No. 93) is the strongest claimant, although during a brief visit last summer I did not succeed in finding any Mycenaean relic. Kalliani is situated on an island formed by the river Touthoa-Langadino and the Ladon itself.

Therefore, when Homer mentions Ripe, Stratie and Enispe in Iliad B 606, he is probably describing in a clockwise movement the participants to the Trojan war from the mountains of Arcadia. The order thus followed by Homer is the natural geographical order of the sites, in contrast to Christian Callmer's opinion (Studien zur Geschichte Arcadiens, p. 48) who further suggested some alteration in Homer's text in the Iliad (B 606).

It is evident that Homer starts his descrisption from the highest and most famous point of Arcadia near Mount Cyllene by naming Pheneos, where Aipytus's tomb was found, then proceeds in a south-westernly direction naming Orchomenos, Ripe, Stratie, Enispe, and, having included in his description the sites most receding into mountains of North-West Arcadia, he turns south-east by mentioning Tegea and ends with Mantinea near Pheneos, hist starting point. In line 608, Homer sums up his description by mentioning Stymphelos and Parrasie, two diametrically opposed sites. It is further possible that the two words used by Homer in his description, εἶχον, and ἐνέμοντο, meant to denote sovereign and subject populations in Arcadia respectively. If this is the case most of the sovereign population must have been established in the more fertile eastern districts from Stymphelos to Tegea, for which the word εἶχον is used, and the subject population lived as Perioikoi in the mountainous western districts, from Orchomenos to Enispe and Parrasie, for which the word ἐνέμοντο is used.

If such a distinction between the meaning of the two verbs εἶχον and ἐνέμοντο is possible, and the oldest Arcadian tribes, according to Strabo (VIII, p. 388), are Azanes and Parrasioi, the Azanes at least, must have been the sovereign population and they are in all probability the first Indoeuropeans who entered Arcadia. The name of Azanes is phonetically similar to the names of a well known group of peoples whose names end in -anes, like: Evrytanes, Akarnanes, Ainianes, Athamanes, Atintanes, Agrianes etc., and who had settled along the cordillera of the Pindos. The Azanes must have been the vanguard that passed into the Peloponnese in an early southward movement of those peoples.

The Azanes in historical times spoke an Achaean dialect and this must have been ori-

ginally the language of all the peoples mentioned. But the tribes beyond the Corinthian Gulf were Dorianised after the Dorian Invasion as were dorianised also the Achaeans of north-western Peloponnese.

As no cultural change seems to have taken place in Arcadia after Middle Helladic times, the Azanes must have reached their new home in Arcadia possibly at the end of the early Helladic period after the destruction of the House of the Tiles at Lerna, for example.

As all the inland settlements of the Peloponnese, Asea, Malthi and Demetra-Enispe all the population of which must have been pastoral and agricultural in character, flourish in Middle Helladic times, we may suppose that they entered the Peloponnese after the decline of the Early Helladic period, possibly in a peaceful manner, in a depopulated area and spread evenly all over the peninsula.

COMMENTS

MARINATOS

«We thank Mr. Syriopoulos for his abundant topographical details. In any case it should be stressed that indeed in Arcadia we have no movements of peoples and no Dorian invaders. It is really a very interesting point for further excavations because everything there is much more interesting than in other parts of Greece. The excavation in one or two points by Miss Kardara, who will speak to us later, is equally interesting from the point of view that in Arcadia we have everything quite untouched, quite virgin and the legends and the mythological religious ideas of the Arcadians are equally interesting.

AEGEAN RELATIONS WITH EUROPE DURING THE NEOLITHIC AND EARLY BRONZE AGES

by

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Several finds made during the recent years, especially the settlement of Nea Nikomedia, the monumental plastic art of Lepenski Vir and the Tartaria tablets, have shown that the Balkan cultures were not so much overshadowed by Neolithic Anatolia, as supposed earlier[1]. Also the C14 chronology put the European Neolithic higher than the archaeologists believed in the post-war years[2]. The Aegean area proper was much less important for the transmission of new cultural elements from the south-east than Thracia (Bulgaria). The main source for verifying the connections with the south-east during the European Neolithic and Eneolithic periods is pottery, its individual styles as well as special, isolated types of vessels which can be explained as inspired by some of the south eastern forms. Insofar as a general comparison may be sufficient, where a finer chronological determination is not essential, this method is doubtlessly of considerable importance; but where a finer comparison is required (e.g. in the Eneolithic period), it appears that the parallels of the individual Central European cultures do not usually pertain to a single period in the South - East.

Most of the hypothetical Aegean relations with European Neolithic were not confirmed by further research. The incised spirals of the Dimini culture are derived from a neighbouring South Balkan culture, not from Central Europe, the megaron is already known from the Sesklo culture and in Palestine much earlier than in Europe: first Central European megara can be explained as a result of Near Eastern, resp. Anatolian influences[3]. Also the famous labrys or butterfly ornament of the European Linear pottery came to Europe from Anatolia, as well as many other Neolithic ornaments[4].

The comparison of succeeding pottery styles in Poliochni, Troy and Central Europe does not, in general, contradict the «calibrated» radiocarbon dates for the European Stone Age. The Aegean and Anatolian stone idols strongly influenced the Bulgarian and even the Central European idols[6], but the copper tools and weapons have only distant relatives in the Aegean: Anatolia and especially the Caucasus supplied better parallels. C. Renfrew

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1) Nea Nikomedia: Rodden, PPS 23 1962, 267-288 and ILN 11. and 18.4.1964. Lepenski Vir, catalogue of the exhibition 1968 and D. Srejovic, Lepenski Vir, Beograd 1970.
Tartaria, tablets with a script of a «Mesopotamian Protodynastic» character Z. Vlassa, Dacia 7 1963, 485-94; V. Milojcic, Germania 43 1965, 261-68; S. Hood, Antiquity 41 1967, 99-113; E. Neustupny, Antiquity 42 1968, 32. Cf. also the «script» from Bulgaria, B. Nikolov - I. Georgijev, Archeologia (Sofia) 1970/3, 1-9.

2) Especially the new «calibrated» dates. But the C14 chronology has been changed more times and it does not seem that the last word has already been said.

3) Cf. B. SOUDSKY, Slovenska Archeologia 17 1969, 82-87.

4) B. SOUDSKY - I. PAVLU. Pamatky arch. 57 1966, 91-125; B. QUITTA, Zur Deutung und Herkunft der bandkeramischen Krötendarstellungen, in Forschungen zur Vorgeschichte Leipzig 1959, 51-81.

5) BOUZEK, Pamatky arch. 57 1966; 243; E. Neustupny, Slovenska Archeologia 16 1968, 20-56.

6) J. NEUSTUPNY, Studies in the Eneolithic Plastic Arts, Sbornik Nat. Mus. Prague A 10 1956.

is certainly correct in rejecting the Aegean origins of the Balkan copper metallurgy, but he seems to overestimate its autonomy[7].

The arsenic bronze was used for first bronze artifacts in Europe, Anatolia and in the Aegean as well, but there are much more parallels to first European bronzes in Syria (with the Caucasus and Anatolia) than in the Aegean. Also the first European glass beads have nearly no parallel in the Aegean: more from Anatolia, Syria and from the Caucasus[8]. The technology of glass melting and bronze metallurgy (daggers, torques, several types of pins) are parallel phenomenons and the introduction of both technologies to Europe by some Near Eastern (Syrian? Caucasian?) prospectors does not appear improbable to me, despite the scepticism expressed in some recently published works. It is difficult to be certain whether some of the related metal objects could be South Eastern imports: most of them were certainly not, but there is a group of Syrian bronze figurines found in South Russia and kept in several Russian and Polish collections. The group is now generally accepted as genuine, even if some are probably modern copies, and dated in the early second millenum B.C.[9].

The end of the EH II period is marked by serious destructions in many Greek sites. The new cultural period prepared by some features (like so-called Proto-Minyan pottery) during EH III starts roughly with the end of the third millenum B.C. According to the largely accepted view, these destructions were probably caused by the first Greeks. New types of houses (especially the megaron) become more popular, as well as the cist graves;some circular barrows («kurgans») are also known from different parts of Greece[10]. Several primitive potteries occur in the last stages of Early Helladic and in the early steges of Middle Helladic Greece. First of these is the Greek «Corded Ware», which reminds of the Central European homonymous pottery, but is especially related to the Bulgarian Mikhalits culture and more generally to the Kurgan IV complex of wares from South Russia and from the Balkans. According to Gimbutas, also Greek barrows are related to the Kurgan tumuli[11]. The date of the Greek corded ware is, however, still a matter of discussion; it appeared in EH III context at Eutresis, whereas Milojcic reported such «Mikhalits» pottery from the lowest Early Thessalian levels at Argissa;[12] the relation of his Early Thessalian to the EH subperiods has not yet been studied in detail.

Several bottles from early MH contexts at Lerna and Kirrha form another «foreign» group in Greece: all have pairs of holes on opposite sides of the neck for cords or thoughs by which they were suspended. They also use to bear fine incised decoration

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7) C. RENFREW, The Autonomy of the Southeast European Copper Age, PPS 35 1969, 12-47.

8) A. HARDING, The Earliest Glass in Europe, Arch. Rozhledy 23 1971, 188-200: R. G. NEWTON and C. RENFREW, The Origin of the British Faience Beads reconsidered, Antiquity 44 1970, 199-206.

9) J. BOUZEK, The Syrian and Anatolian Bronze Age Figurines in Europe, PPS 38 1972, printing.

10) Vrana near Marathon SP. MARINATOS, AAA 3 1970, 67-68 and 155-164; Leukas W. DÖRPFELD, Alt-Ithaka I (1927), 217-250.

11) Cf. M. GIMBUTAS, Evidence of Indo-European (Kurgan) IV culture in the Aegean, Ionian, Adriatic and East Mediterranean at ca. 2600-2300 B.C., in Bronze Age Migrations in the Aegean, Sheffield Colloquium 1970.

12) V. MILOJCIC, Germania 33 1955, 151ff. and AA 1956, 157ff. Cf. L. HAJEK, in Kommission für das Äneolithikum und ältere Bronzezeit, Nitra 1958, 67f. fig. 7 and M. GIMBUTAS in Relative Chronologies in Old World Archaeology, 2nd ed. 1965, 489 fig. 4.

13) J. L. CASKEY, Greece and the Aegean Islands in the Middle Bronze Age, CAH II ch. IVa, 11; Hesp. 26 1957 pl. 40 d, f; Hesp. 25 1956 pl. 43 b; L. DOR, J. JANNORAY, K. et M. EFFENTERRE, KIRRHA, Etude de prehistoire phocidienne (1960) pl. 44 p. 150. Cf. also S. HOOD, Northern penetration of Greece at the end of LH III, in Bronze Age Migrations (note 11).

and were supposed to be of European origin. Garasanin once saw parallels in some unpublished Bubanj Ia vessels from his excavations[13]. I myself do not know of any close analogy published but some Catacomb vessels from the Ukraine bear some similarity[14]. Another group of late EH pots from Asia have distant parallels in a related territory[15].

Conclusion. Only few contacts between the Aegean and Central European Neolithic are known and no sufficient grounds are available for supposing a northern migration into Greece prior to the Early Helladic II period. In the later part of Early Helladic, the archaeological evidence suggests a possible migration (or two successive migrations) from the North-East Balkans or from the Pontic area; this migration also introduces the first «Dark Age» in Greek history.

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14) Cf. e.g. S. Popova, Plemena katakombnoj kultury, Moscow 1955, pl. 2; Archeologia Ukrainskoj RSR I, Kiev 1971, 324 fig. 89; 1-5 and p. 328 fig. 92:11.

15) E. J. HOLMBERG, The Swedish Excavation at Asea in Arcadia, Stockholm 1944, 88-89 fig. 90 (jugs) and fig. 89a (bottle). For some distant parallels see e.g. T. Sulimirski, Corded Ware and Globular Amphoras North-East of the Carpathians, London 1968, pl. 12:1-3 and Archeologia Ukrainskoj RSR (note 14,) 253 fig. 69:4.

NOTE: The analogies mentioned in notes 14-15 are rather distant, but they may perhaps help to find better parallels north-east of Greece similarly like the «Lausitz» parallels of the so-called Macedonian Lausitz ware did. I thank Professor M. Buchvaldek for an amicable help on the field of East-European Eneolithic.

COMMENTS

Mr. HOOD:

«I should like to put on record my appreciation of this extremely intereresting and authoritative paper. It seems to me that the conclusion drawn from the Professor's paper, namely that the influences in the Balkans, in the early times, were very much more strong from the East than from the Aegean, is correct. And it may interest some members of the conference who do not yet know it, that there has recently been discovered in Rumania, among material from the early excavation in Turdas, in Transylvania, a fragment of a plate, but I think that we had better ask our colleague, Professor Condurachi, to speak to us about this.

CONDURACHI

Les découvertes de Tartaria (Roumanie) ont été parfois mises en doute, vu l'élément de surprise qu'elles comportaient. Pourtant, les trois tablettes trouvées par M. Vlassa ont été découvertes dans des conditions archéologiques absolument sûres. Il a encore trouvé depuis, dans les dépôts du Musée de Cluj, des pièces découvertes à Turdas, il y a presque 70 ans, dans la station bien connue, et représentant des fragments de céramique sumérienne, qu'il est en train de publier. Quatre de ces fragments absolument authentiques prouvent que les tablettes de Tartaria ne peuvent plus passer pour une découverte isolée. Les fragments du Musée de Cluj ajoutés aux tablettes de Tartaria contribuent à poser le problème d'autant plus sérieusement: comment expliquer la présence de tou-

tes ces pièces (tablettes et fragments céramiques) d'origine purement sumérienne au fond de la Transylvanie?

L'une des explications possibles serait de les considérer comme des objets d'importation de signification magique peut être, puisque certains signes pouvaient être incompréhensibles pour les gens de l'endroit. Mais, compte tenu de leur fréquence, on pourrait aussi les considérer comme le fruit d'une présence effective de quelques maîtres itinérants venus à un certain moment (disons vers 2700 av. n. è.) dans cette région. D'autre part, il y a quatre ans, l'un des meilleurs archéologues roumains de l'époque néolithique et énéolithique, M. Vladimir Dumitrescu, découvrait dans un îlot du Danube, au centre d'un village de la phase finale de Boian (donc précédant la phase Gumelnitza) un sanctuaire avec une colonne centrale et des parois décorées de peinture. Il a pu y dénombrer trois couches de peinture superposées. Or, c'est bien à un sanctuaire de type anatolien que nous avons à faire, bien qu'il y ait une différence de presque 2000 ans entre lui et les monuments du même genre d'Asie Mineure. Donc, après les découvertes de Tartaria, qui ont étonné par leur présence insolite, nous avons de nouvelles preuves indiquant une certaine fréquence des contacts entre l'Anatolie et les Balkans.

THE FIRST ARRIVAL OF INDO-EUROPEAN ELEMENTS IN GREECE. SOME OBSERVATIONS FROM ANATOLIA

by

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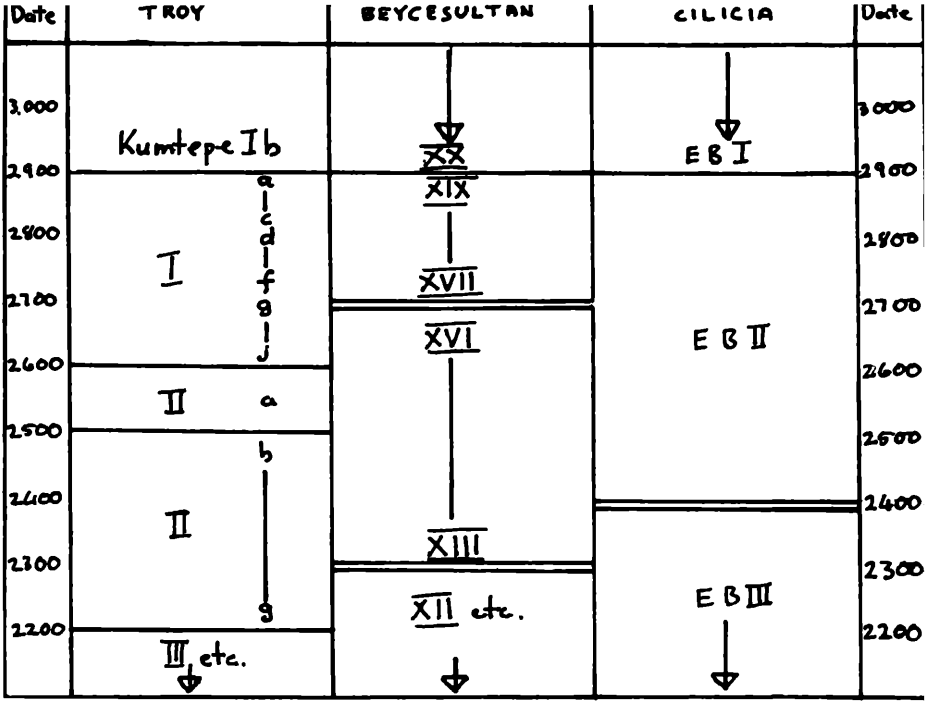
I would like to begin this paper with a few words of explanation, and of apology. My own primary interest is that of a historian-cum-linguist studying those Indo-European-speakers who lived in Anatolia in the second millennium B.C. But I feel that it is part of my duty as a historian to look for origins, and this perforce takes me beyond my own boundaries into territory rightly occupied by others. I have to stress that when I do this, I am very conscious of the fact that I am an intruder. My only excuses for straying onto alien soil in this way are, first, the fact that conclusions drawn from Anatolian evidence have a habit of affecting conclusions on events in Greece, and second, the firm conviction that the often conflicting pictures provided by language and archaeology are ultimately reconciliable, and should, if at all possible, be reconciled. We cannot divide people into language-speakers and pot-makers: they are, however unlikely it may at times seem, the same people.

With this preface let me turn to the Indo-Europeans in Anatolia. The first point that I must stress is that from a linguistic point of view no theory which suggests separate penetration by «Hittites» and «Luvians» can be regarded as probable. On the contrary, it seems much more reasonable to suppose that the single common ancestor of the Indo-European languages of Anatolia (would it be possible to call it Proto-Anatolic on the lines of proto-Celtic, proto-Italic and so on?) entered Anatolia at a single time, and by a single route, and that differentiation, like that of the Greek dialects in Greece, took place inside Anatolia. This means that in considering origins all areas of Anatolia in which Indo-European languages were spoken have to be considered together. It is clear that Indo-European speech had already reached central Anatolia by shortly after 2,000 B.C., and possibly by 2,300 B.C. With any luck it ought to be possible to trace it back by means of archaeological evidence to its source in common Indo-European. At first sight this seems reasonably simple. There are in north-central Anatolia, at Alaca and elsewhere, tombs of a suitable period which show close connections with the k u r g a n culture of the North Caucasus area. But there is unfortunately no real evidence to show any spread of Alaca features to southern and western Anatolia, and I suspect that the language of those who were buried in the Alaca tombs, although Indo-European, was not proto-Anatolic, but was possibly related to the Indo-European substrate in Kassite, and may have been the ultimate ancestor of the language of the Cimmerians. It is, archaeologically speaking, much more likely that the spread of Anatolic into central Anatolia was from the opposite direction, from the south, that it was on the whole a peaceful one, and that it can be seen, for instance, in the presence of a large megaron-building at Kultepe about 2250 B.C. This building, whether a temple or a palace, shows that western ideas, and probably westerners themselves, had already achieved a prominent position in central Anatolia by this date, and this could be linked with Professor Carruba's evidence for Indo-European in the area by 2300 or so. For this and other reasons I tend to see the arrival of Indo-European in central Anatolia as being from the south, and before 2250, rather than linking it to the spread of north-western wheel-made pottery to Bogazköy and other sites about 2000 B.C. The source of the spread can reasonably be placed in Cilicia in the E.B. III period (about 2400-2000 B.C.), and from there it

can be followed back to an ultimate entry from the north-west, across the straits from Europe. But here again our archaeological evidence fails us. K u r g a n elements appear in abundance in the Balkans, but they obstinately refuse to cross into Anatolia. The result is that we are driven to theories of «invisible Indo-Europeans», cultureless barbarians who left no trace save that of destruction in the archaeological record. Professor Evans warned us last year against invoking these wraithlike figures too often. I feel myself that even once is too often. I agree entirely that there is no such thing as a single, unified Indo-European culture: I am happy to admit Indo-Europeans with little material culture of their own: I can see no reason to reject Indo-Europeans with largely borrowed culture: But I cannot believe in Indo-Europeans with no culture at all. And since I cannot believe in them, I also cannot believe in the waves of «refugee-cultures» caused by their descent. The picture we have to imagine is one of hordes of displaced persons, driven from their homes by invisible enemies, sweeping across south-west and south Anatolia, leaving behind them a trail of destruction and north-western pottery-shapes. I am reminded in some ways of the account of the year 1453 A.D. which was given to me as a schoolboy. In that year, I was told, as the Turks entered Constantinople, there could be seen leaving by the back gate a horde of Byzantine scholars, clutching their copies of Homer and Plato to their breasts, and fully equipped, when they reached western Europe, to start the revival of Classical learning. But history, I have since found, is seldom as simple as this, and I suspect that our picture of third millennium Anatolia may also be over-simplified. Perhaps it may be worth while to consider a few details of this picture. There are good grounds (as some scholars have stressed) for equating Troy II with Cilician E.B.II; there are also good grounds (as others have maintained) for equating Troy II with Cilician E.B.III. Troy I shows features found in Beycesultan XIX-XVII; it also shows features found in Beycesultan XVI-XIII. Features of Cilician E.B. III can be seen in Beycesultan XII-VI; but they can already be seen in Beycesultan XIII. This is a subject on which doctors tend to disagree, and the way out is, I think, to avoid an over-systematic equation of periods at different sites, and allow for a certain amount of overlapping. I freely admit that the evidence is ambiguous, and that one man's primitive ancestor of a depas-cup may be another's decadent descendant of the same vessel. But if we allow for overlapping, the picture which emerges is one not of all-embracing destruction and refugee-cultures, but of cultural expansion during periods of power and prosperity rather than of weakness and final ruin. There is a spread of Troy I features onto the south-western plateau in the latter part of the Troy I period, and then a spread of Troy II features, first to Cilicia (by sea?) and then to Beycesultan, which was by this time subject also to Cilician influence, some time before the end of Troy II. It was from the region of Cilicia that originally western features, such as the megaron, reached central Anatolia, and among these features was an Indo-European language.

All this leads us to assume that Troy II was proto-Anatolic in speech. But if it was, there is little or nothing to indicate that the same is not true of Troy I, or even of Kumtepe Ib. The north-west shows no real sign of foreign influence at the end of Troy I, or even at its beginning. This leads me to the conclusion that Indo-European elements were already present in north-west Anatolia by the beginning of the Early Bronze Age there, just after, or even before, 3,000 B.C. The principal difficulty in accepting this is that by anyone's chronology it is too early to be linked with the great wave of k u r g a n-expansion which struck the Balkans in the later third millennium. Troy I certainly has connections with the Balkans, and although on the whole the cultural flow seems to be from Troy rather than to it, I suspect that the traffic was two-way, and that it was during this period that proto-Anatolic crossed into Anatolia. Here again there is a difficulty, for contemporary Balkan cultures do not at all correspond to the picture of Indo-European society



which has been built up on the basis of linguistic evidence. Yet it must be remembered, as Professor Crossland has reminded us, that linguistically Anatolia was on the periphery of the Indo-European area, and must have begun its independent development at a comparatively early date. If proto-Greek had reached the central Balkans by the second half of the third millennium, and if there are signs that proto-Greek remained in contact with proto-Indo-Iranian long enough for common innovations to develop, then we are forced to assume that the break-away of proto-Anatolic was considerably earlier — the first half of the third, or even the later fourth millennium. On the whole there is little evidence for the warlike aristocracies of the Iliad and the Vedic hymns either in Hittite tradition or in the Anatolic languages, and it can perhaps be suggested that societies of this type were a feature of the later waves of Indo-European expansion, but not of the first.

I ought now to turn to Greece, where what I have said has its consequences. It is, I think, generally accepted that the origins of many features of the Early Bronze Age in the Aegean area are to be sought in Anatolia. What I have tried to suggest is that contemporary cultures in that area already proto-Anatolic, and therefore Indo-European, in speech. If this is true, there is much to be said for the presence of Indo-Europeans in Greece long before the arrival of the Greeks, and unconnected with such later features as «Minyan» pottery. This raises yet again the Anatolic origin of at least some of the toponyms in-nth and-ss. The evidence of these names can be dismissed by the r e d u c t i o a d a b s u r d u m of a single linguistic substrate based on the collection of such names from all over the Middle East and Mediterranean area. I t is also possible to explain many names as being derived from other sources (as Professor Georgiev has shown many of them to be good Greek). But there still remains an obstinate core of names, centred on Greece and western Anatolia, which seems to be Indo-European, and not Greek. Within this group-ss and-nth endings may interchange and be extended by analogy to places where they cannot

originally have functioned. This is the way in which suffixes work in a language which is alive and functioning, and I am sure that a language which made use of these suffixes did exist in the Aegean area. This language does not follow the rules of Greek; it is therefore non-Greek, and almost certainly pre-Greek. Professor Georgiev has suggested that t w o such languages can be detected, which he calls Hittite-Luvian and Pelasgian. I would like to think that the differences between them are not sufficiently great for them to be called different languages, but rather that the evidence can be explained on the hypothesis that proto-Anatolicat at the time of its entry into Greece at the beginning of the Early Bronze Age still distinguished the Indo-European vowels e o and n, and that this distinction was preserved in Pelasgian (West Anatolic?- ινθ, -αν4and -υνθ, but was lost in Hittite-Luvian (East Anatolic?), which shows only -and. Similarly an entry into Greece about 3.000 B.C. allows plenty of time, in my opinion, for Indo-European* -nt to be aspirated into nth in Greece snd voiced into -nd in Anatolia. My feeling is that the attested features of «Pelasgian» and «Hittite-Luvian» are not sufficiently different to justify the postulation of two linguistic movements, one of them in the early Neolithic. To sum up, my conclusion is that «Pelasgian» and «Hittite-Luvian» are, not independent Indo-European languages, but parallel and largely independent developments of the branches of a single Indo-European language, proto-Anatolic. The arrival of this language in Greece can reasonably be placed at the beginning of the Early Bronze Age. It need not, on the one hand, be pushed back into the Neolithic period, and it cannot, on the other hand, be easily linked to the intrusive k u r g a n -cultures of the later third millennium. Thus I place myself hesitantly between the Scylla of Professor Gimbutas on one side, and the Charybdis of Professor Georgiev on the other

COMMENTS

CROSSLAND

A propos possible migrations into central Anatolia at the end of the third millennium or early in the second, one should note the evidence for eastward extension of the distribution of red monochrome pottery, which might have been the prototype of «Hittite» wares, from the area of Tavsanli and Kütahya. It seems more likely that this may reflect migration of the Indo-European speaking ancestors of the historical Hittites from the north-west of Anatolia to its central region than that they migrated to Cilicia and then into the central region from the south-west (cf. J. Mellaart, «Anatolia c. 2300 - 1750 B.C.» Cambridge Ancient History 1 /2 (rev. ed.), Chap. XXIV /Fasc. 20, 33; R.A. Crossland, «Immigrants from the North», Cambridge Ancient History 1 /2 (rev. ed.), chap. XXVII / Fasc. 60, 21, 24).

LA CONTRIBUTION DES RECHERCHES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES ROUMAINES A L'ÉTUDE DE L'INDO-EUROPÉANISATION DU SUD-EST EUROPÉEN

par

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Tant par la complexité de ses manifestations techniques que par la haute qualité de ses réalisations artistiques, la civilisation de Cucuteni-Tripolje, qui s'inscrit dans la phase finale du néolithique Carpato-Danubien, occupe une place de premier plan dans toute la culture européenne du IIIe millénaire av. n. è. Par la finesse de sa céramique peinte aussi bien que par l'exubérance de son répertoire décoratif, elle soutient la comparaison avec les grandes réalisations des cultures de l'Asie Antérieure et du Bassin Egéen. On a même pu affirmer que, indirectement tout au moins, elle a joué un rôle important dans la genèse de la civilisation de Dimini.

Comment a pris fin cette civilisation, dont le caractère unitaire sur un territoire aussi étendu implique des liens étroits entre les différentes tribus qui ont participé à sa formation et à son développement? De bonne heure sans doute, des éléments faisant partie de tribus nomades caractérisées par la pratique des enterrements à ocre et une céramique de facture et à ornementation particulières avaient pénétré, venant de l'Est, dans l'aire de la civilisation de Cucuteni. Les dernières recherches ont réussi à préciser, en partie du moins, les données de ce problème, d'autant plus important qu'à la fin du IIIe millénaire av. n. è. il y a eu des mouvements de populations nomades du nord-est au sud-ouest, qui ont conféré à ces régions leur caractère profondément indo-européen.

Il convient de nous arrêter quelque peu sur les débuts de ce processus, aussi intéressant que complexe, appelé à aboutir à la constitution dans l'espace Carpato-Balkanique du puissant groupement des tribus thraces. Les dernières recherches archéologiques roumaines ont permis certaines précisions touchant le processus de transformation qui a eu lieu au cours du IIIe millénaire. Elles éclairent à la fois les infiltrations et les mouvements de populations de cette époque, dont le début peut être assigné à la première moitié du IIIe millénaire av. n. è., sinon plus tôt.

On peut affirmer ainsi que, dès la fin de la première phase de la civilisation à céramique peinte (Cucuteni A), est apparue une catégorie de céramique entièrement différente comme facture, forme et décor. Elle appartient au groupe connu sous le nom de «Cucuteni C», caractérisé par une pâte renfermant des coquillages pilés et un décor réalisé au peigne, propre à l'Europe orientale. Dans ses phases ultérieures (Cucuteni A-B), cette céramique est ornée d'un décor en torsade et de boutons «au repoussé». Cela revient à dire que dès 3100 av. n. è. — date à laquelle a été assignée au moyen du C^{14} la phase Cucuteni A sinon plus tôt, a eu lieu la pénétration des premiers éléments d'origine est-européenne. Leur importance s'accroîtra par la suite, pour atteindre son plus haut degré lors de la phase finale de la civilisation de Cucuteni, connue surtout par les fouilles de Horodiștea et de Folteşti, phase qui peut être considérée comme la première étape de la période de transition vers l'âge du bronze.

Plus au sud, dans l'aire des civilisations de Gumelnita et de Salcuta, on a pu relever les signes d'un processus identique.De récentes recherches ont établi le rôle joué par les éléments est-européens dans la constitution de la civilisation de Cernavoda I, dont la céramique présente des analogies marquées avec celle de type Cucuteni C. Du point de vue de la chronologie relative, la civilisation de Cernavoda I, qui a pénétré, en la disloquant

dans la zone autrefois unitaire de la civilisation de Gumelnita, est contemporaine de la phase A-B de la civilisation de Cucuteni, dont elle suit l'évolution jusqu'à la phase Folteşti. Une seconde phase de cette civilisation, Cernavoda III, présente des analogies avec la civilisation de type Ezero de Bulgarie. A cette époque apparaissent aussi des influences méridionales propres à Troie I, suggérées par la présence de petites anses tubulaires et de petites anses surélevées. Au cours de cette phase, on ne relève plus de céramique à pâte mêlée de coquillages pilés et décorée de torsades; en échange on rencontre fréquemment des vases «sac», décorés de ceintures en relief, ainsi que des écuelles à cannelures intérieures. La phase dénommée Cernavoda II, contemporaine de Foltesti II, est caractérisée par des vases de type a s k o s et par des soupières à la partie supérieure bombée. Un élément caractéristique pour toutes les phases de cette civilisation sont les tombes «à ocre», dont la facture tumulaire et le mobilier funéraire présentent de nombreuses analogies avec celles découvertes dans les steppes du nord de la Mer Noire. Des recherches ont, du reste, attesté l'existence de ce genre de tombes durant toute l'époque de transition du néolithique à l'âge du bronze et même au début de celui-ci. De leurs steppes nord-pontiques, ces pasteurs nomades ont apporté aussi, à ce qu'il semble, la tradition des «statues-menhir», statues anthropomorphes de pierre d'une exécution primitive, sans doute la personnification de forces surnaturelles. De telles statues, découvertes depuis longtemps en Roumanie à Baia de Cris, à l'ouest, et à Hamangia, au sud-est, présentent de nombreuses analogies avec, notamment, celles mises au jour dans les tumuli à ocre du sud de l'"U.R.S.S.

Pour conclure, nous mentionnerons encore, pour cette même période, l'apparition de quelques éléments nordiques. La civilisation des amphores sphériques, propre à une population à demi nomade de Volhynie et de Podolie qui enterrait ses morts dans des tombes à ciste de pierre, a été attestée aussi en Roumanie, notamment par les fouilles de Piatra Neamt et de Dolheştii Mari en Moldavie. Si, à ces éléments constitutifs, on ajoute encore d'importantes influences méridionales, qui évolueront jusqu'aux formes spécifiques de l'époque immédiatement antérieure à l'époque du bronze (Glina III-Schneckenberg A), on pourra saisir toute la complexité de ces processus d'ordre ethnique et culturel, qui constituent le fonds général des civilisations énéolithiques et de celles de la phase de transition vers l'âge du bronze. Chronologiquement, cette longue période se prolonge jusque vers 1800-1700 av. n. è. Les tribus est-européennes, identifiées dans les steppes nord-pontiques dans les établissements du type Gorodsk-Usatovo, sont avant tout des tribus de pasteurs. L'élevage — leur occupation principale — a modifié profondément la structure économique et sociale des populations sédentaires néolithiques et énéolithiques, sur lesquelles s'est exercé cette puissante pression venue de l'Est. En effet, dans tous les établissements fouillés dans la partie est et sud de la Roumanie on a vu apparaître des témoignages concrets de ce changement radical de leur économie et de l'importance de plus en plus grande prise par l'élevage. La civilisation de Cotofeni, identifiée en Olténie et contemporaine de celle illustrée par les fouilles de Horodiştea et de Folteşti de Moldavie, atteste l'extension de ce mode de vie jusque dans la partie sud-ouest du pays.

L'étude de ces établissements et des matériaux respectifs, qui peuvent être assignés aux derniers siècles du IIIe millénaire et aux deux premiers siècles du millenaire suivant, ont permis en outre d'établir toute une série de points de repère en ce qui concerne les rapports dans le temps et dans l'espace avec les cultures énéolithiques des Balkans et d'Asie Mineure. Ainsi, on a constaté que la civilisation de Cernavoda I est contemporaine de Troie I, alors que Cernavoda III l'est plus ou moins de Troie III. D'autre part, la présence d'aiguilles en cuivre aux extrémités enroulées en double spirale, ainsi que de figurines en terre cuite du type «en violon», caractéristiques pour Troie II, Gumelnita A_2 et Cucuteni A_2/A_3, confirme ces synchronismes. Ces liens avec le bassin

égéen sont corroborés également par la découverte à Truşeşti d'un vase du type k e r - n o s datant de la phase Cucuteni A_2/A_3. En conclusion, les phases plus anciennes des civilisations de Cucuteni et de Gumelnita sont antérieures à Troie I. Les récentes recherches de Dikili Tash, où sont apparus des fragments de provenance gumélnitzienne, confirment ce point de vue.

Restructurées au point de vue de leur composition ethnique, ainsi que par leurs caractères linguistiques et culturels, les tribus qui peuplaient au début du II millénaire le territoire actuel de la Roumanie sont entrées dans une période de relative stabilité. L'agriculture, l'élevage et, tout particulièrement, l'exploitation des gisements de cuivre et la pratique de la métallurgie du bronze ont permis un certain progrès des forces de production, qui se manifeste autant du point de vue strictement technique que sous le rapport de l'évolution sociale et culturelle. Certes, le caractère encore primitif de l'outillage et le coût élevé des armes de bronze ont interdit à la région balkano-danubienne de parvenir à une situation pareille à celle atteinte au Proche-Orient où, à une autre époque et dans des circonstances différentes, étaient apparus, sous le même signe de la métallurgie du bronze les premiers Etats. Bien que limités ces progrès n'en ont pas moins abouti, entre les années 1900 et 800 av. n. è., à la constitution de puissants groupes tribaux, au sein desquels on voit poindre pour la première fois les signes de plus en plus nets d'un processus de différenciation économique et sociale. La fréquence des armes, parfois de grande valeur artistique, attestent l'existence d'une aristocratie tribale, appelée à jouer un rôle important dans le développement ultérieur de cette société.

D'autre part, la diffusion de la métallurgie du bronze dans tout l'espace carpato-balkanique a assuré une certaine uniformité à la culture de cette longue période historique. Pourtant, le moment où s'est ouverte la marche vers cette nouvelle étape n'a pas été le même dans toutes les régions du pays, mais a varié suivant le degré d'assimilation de la nouvelle technique et les possibilités de se procurer la matière première. De même, la pénétration d'influences plus lointaines — notamment celles provenant du bassin de la Mer Egée, par l'intermédiaire de la Macédoine et de la Thrace méridionale — ont contribué à donner des aspects locaux, variés, aux différentes civilisations découvertes et étudiées au nord du Danube. Leur intégration dans l'ensemble de l'âge du bronze de l'Europe Centrale a eu le mérite de souligner les éléments communs de ces civilisations, dont chacune représente le maillon d'une chaîne tendue, l'espace d'un millénaire, de la Mer Egée à la Scandinavie. C'est le mérite de P. Reinecke et de V. Gordon Childe d'avoir défini les étapes initiales de ces civilisations, dont les bornes dans le temps et dans l'espace dépassent de loin les limites du territoire actuel de la Roumanie. Mais c'est aussi le mérite des recherches archéologiques roumaines d'avoir précisé la nature des rapports entre les différentes cultures de l'âge du bronze en Roumanie.

Le millénaire qui s'est écoulé entre le moment de l'introduction de la métallurgie du bronze et le commencement de l'âge du fer, qui lui a fait suite (1900-800 av. n. è.), comprend en Roumanie trois grands moments où se situent les civilisations respectives. Dans une première période — qui conserve des traits évidents de la période de transition de l'époque énéolithique vers l'âge du bronze, d'où il résulte qu'elle présente un grand nombre d'éléments communs sur un espace relativement vaste — la civilisation de Glina III-Schneckenberg s'étend du Danube jusque dans l'angle sud-est de la Transylvanie. Les tasses, les brocs et les soupières profondes, propres à la céramique de cette période, ont un aspect miséreux, autant comme réalisation technique que comme décor. Les figurines anthropomorphes et zoomorphes de terre cuite, ainsi que la reproduction en terre cuite, et à une petite échelle, des haches de combat, sont caractéristiques pour cette civilisation qui, selon toutes les apparences, a précédé toutes les autres civilisations de l'âge du bronze au nord du Danube. A cette même époque, sur la plate-forme transyl-

vaine, apparaît une céramique primitive décorée de «piqûres successives» (F u r c h e n s t i c h k e r a m i k), motif ornemental qui dérive du répertoire fruste de la civilisation plus ancienne de type Cotofeni.

Sur le fond commun de la civilisation de la première période de l'âge du bonze, on voit se constituer au cours de la phase moyenne—de fait la phase principale de l' âge du bronze en Roumanie — une série de cultures régionales, dont la stabilité dans le temps comme dans l'espace (environ 1600-1100 av. n. è.) implique forcément la formation d'importants groupes tribaux. Sans qu'il soit possible de saisir de manière précise quand et comment ces cultures régionales ont absorbé, directement ou indirectement, les éléments ethniques ou culturels venus du sud ou de l'ouest, il est évident qu'elles ont joué un rôle important dans la cristallisation de leurs aspects spécifiques.

Sans que l'on puisse, de même, déterminer en toute certitude a priorité de telle ou telle de ces cultures régionales, il est permis d'affirmer qu'au moins deux d'entre elles — à savoir, les civilisations de Tei et de Periam-Pecica, localisées la première dans le sud, la seconde dans l'ouest de la Roumanie — présentent une série d'éléments caractéristiques qui révèlent, dès leur phase initiale, la profonde transformation subie par le fonds local plus ancien — la phase finale de la civilisation de Glina III pour la première, la culture de Baden pour la seconde—sous l'effet d'une puissante impulsion culturelle d'origine méridionale, ayant probablement sa source dans la Grèce helladique et en Macédoine. En ce qui concerne la civilisation du Tei, connue principalement par les recherches pratiquées dans la zone de Bucarest, la voie de pénétration de ces influences méridionales est plus facile à suivre, car les traces peuvent en être relevées jusqu'au-delà du Danube sur le territoire de la Bulgarie. C'est de la même direction, assurément par voie d'échanges intertribaux, que les épées mycéniennes sont parvenues au nord du Danube en plus grand nombre que dans le reste des Balkans. L'épée et les poignards en or de Persinari, typiquement mycéniens et dont il convient de souligner le caractère d'apparat, sinon sacré, constituent même une découverte unique dans tout le Sud-Est européen. Un trait caractéristique pour la céramique de la civilisation de Tei est son décor en spirales et méandres, d'origine égéenne. Il est d'ailleurs significatif que, par l'intermédiaire de la civilisation de Tei, cet élément spécifiquement méridional ait été transmis à une autre culture régionale de l'âge du bronze, la civilisation de Monteoru, dont l'aire de diffusion s'étend plus au nord-est. Quant à la civilisation de Periam-Pecica, c'est l'une des plus anciennes civilisations de l'âge du bronze de toute la région du Moyen-Danube. Etant donné les nombreux problèmes que cette civilisation et sa genèse soulèvent pour tout le Sud-Est européen, la civilisation de Periam-Pecica, qui a été caractérisée comme la civilisation de la céramique incrustée, a fait l'objet de minutieuses recherches de la part des archéologues hongrois à Tószeg et à Nagyrev, dans la région de la Theis. Les poignards et les haches de bronze à orifice transversal sont fréquents dans les sépultures de ce groupe. Les vases à deux anses, les brocs et les écuelles sont décorés dans une première phase, de motifs géométriques linéaires. Le décor à base de spirales et de méandres fait son apparition au cours d'une phase ultérieure. Des éléments qui semblent s'être détachés, à une pate et dans des circonstances difficiles à préciser, du complexe Periam-Pecica ont donné naissance à la civilisation de Vatina dans le Banat et à celle de Verbicioara en Olténie. Les brocs à anse et à proéminences, les tasses à deux anses et au pied creux, les assiettes à haut pied, ainsi que les petites amphores et les couvercles coniques, présentant un décor linéaire ou en spirale, sont des formes spécifiques pour la civilisation de type Vatina. Des épées et des haches de combat ont été mises au jour aussi dans les sépultures de cette civilisation, dont l'aire de diffusion s'étend au loin vers l'ouest sur le territoire de la Yougoslavie (civilisation de Bjelo-Brdo). Elle fait partie du vaste groupe culturel connu en général sous le nom de «civilisation des champs d'urnes», caractérisé en ce qui concerne

le décor céramique par le fait que les motifs - linéaires, spiraux ou en méandres - sont incrustés d'une pâte blanche.

Entre ces deux civilisations ont pénétré, sans doute dès la phase initiale de l'âge du du bronze, des éléments appartenant au groupe yougoslave de la civilisation des champs d'urnes. Ils ont donné naissance à un nouveau groupe danubien, qui a fait récemment l'objet d' études minutieuses dans les nécropoles de Gîrla Mare et de Cîrna. La nécropole de Cîrna notamment, qui appartient à la phase moyenne du bronze, étant datée des années 1600-1110 av. n. è., a fourni une contribution essentielle à la connaissance de la civilisation des champs d'urnes de l'ouest de l'Olténie à la genèse de laquelle ont participé des éléments de la culture plus ancienne appartenant aux groupes Vučedol et Periam-Pecica. Les urnes à col cyclindrique, au corps bombé et à la partie inférieure tronconique, les urnes à deux étages, les écuelles servant de couvercle à ces urnes, les tasses et les coupes aux anses surélevées et, tout particulièrement, les statuettes féminines d'une forme typiquement égéenne, décorées de triangles hachurés de cercles rayonnés et surtout de spirales incrustées de pâte blanche, sont autant de témoignages de la variété tant des formes tectoniques que du répertoire décoratif des produits de cette civilisation.

Au nord-est de la civilisation de Tei, à la suite surtout des fouilles pratiquées à Sarata-Monteoru, on a identifié une riche civilisation de l'âge du bronze, la civilisation de Monteoru, dont l'aire de diffusion commence dans la région des collines de Munténie, pour s'étendre sur la partie méridionale de la Moldavie. Au cours de sa phase finale, ainsi qu'il ressort de recherches récentes, des éléments de la civilisation de Monteoru ont gagné l'angle sud-est de la Transylvanie. Comme formes céramiques, outre les soupières et es vases à provisions, les tasses et les brocs à anses surélevées, parfois modelées en forme de têtes de bélier, il faut mentionner les vases à la bouche en bec de canard et les vases d'offrandes à base pointue et au col en entonnoir. Le décor est réalisé par incisions et portions en relief avec, les premiers temps, une prédominance des motifs géométriques linéaires. Ce n'est qu'au cours d'une phase ultérieure, et sous l'influence de la civilisation de Tei, qui a assuré au nord du Danube la transmission des influences méridionales, que la spirale — dont l'origine égéenne est indubitable — fait son apparition dans la civilisation de Monteoru. En Moldavie septentrionale, concomitamment, s'est développée une culture des époques ancienne et moyenne de l'âge du bronze, connue sous le nom de son établissement éponyme — Costisa — et dont l'aire de duffusion sera recouverte à un moment donné, vers la fin de l'époque moyenne du bronze, par la civilisation de Monteoru. La stratigraphie de l'établissement de Costisa présente deux niveaux renfermant des matériaux typiquement Monteoru, dont le premier est contemporain de Monteoru I_{c2}. Ces deux civilisations poursuivront leur développement jusqu'à la fin de l' âge du bronze, contribuant de la sorte - ainsi que la civilisation de Wietenberg, dont nous traiterons plus bas, mais dans des conditions historiques différentes - à la formation de la civilisation de Noua, qui inaugure la première époque de l'âge du fer.

Des influences de la civilisation de Tei, superposées à un puissant fonds local, se sont exercées aussi sur un autre complexe culturel de grande importance, qui s'est étendu à l'époque moyenne du bronze sur toute la plate-forme transylvaine, à savoir, la civilisation de Wietenberg, identifiée à la suite des découvertes faites dans la colline du même nom des environs de Sighişoara. La céramique mise au jour dans les nombreux établissements appartenant à cette civilisation est décorée de spirales et de méandres d'une remarquable élégance, réalisées notamment par la technique de l'excision. Le grand nombre des haches de combat et des épées d'estoc de type Boiu attestent l'activité guerrière très marquée de ces tribus. Non moins de sept épées mycéniennes, importées du sud, appréciées à juste titre pour leurs qualités offensives, soulignent de même le penchant de l'aristocratie locale pour de telles activités.

Enfin, dans la partie nord-ouest de la Roumanie, on a identifié la civilisation d'Otomani, bien connue également au-delà de la Theis, ainsi qu'en Slovaquie. Les recherches récentes entreprises à Varsand et a Socodor ont fait ressortir les rapports de genèse de cette ancienne civilisation avec la civilisation énéolithique de type Baden, ainsi qu'avec celle de la période de transition connue sous le nom de «céramique à piqûres successives». Le décor de spirales et de méandres réalisé au moyen d'incisions, caractérise la céramique de type Otomani, dont les formes communes sont représentées par la tasse à une seule anse, l'écuelle, la soupière et le vase à provisions. Le grand nombre d'outils et d'armes de bronze - haches de combat, brassards et épées artistiquement décorées, telles que celle mise au jour à Apa - attestent une intense activité métallurgique et guerrière. Il faut, d'autre part, souligner le fait, valable du reste pour toute l'époque moyenne du bronze, que de nombreux produits de ce genre ont été confectionnés en Transylvanie et transmis au loin jusqu'au nord de l'Europe.

Cet exposé sommaire ne peut donner, évidemment, qu'une faible idée de la variété des problèmes d'ordre chronologique, archéologique et historique qui ont préoccupé et préoccupent encore les spécialistes de cette période. La genèse et le développement des différentes zones culturelles identifiées sur le territoire de la Roumanie durant cette période, la mise en évidence des points par lesquels ces cultures diffèrent les unes des autres, tels que le rite d'enterrement, le rôle joué par certaines tribus de la transmission des formes supérieures de technique et de culture, les modifications qu'elles ont apportées à l'ancien fonds local, les étapes de développement de l'organisation économique et sociale: voilà autant de problèmes dont l'étude devra être poursuivie, afin de définir la contribution de chaque groupe à la réalisation du tableau général de l'âge du Bronze en Roumanie. Et cela d'autant plus que, de par sa position à un important carrefour de chemins, le territoire de la Roumanie a favorisé à la fois la convergence des différents courants et le rayonnement de certaines formes de culture qui se situaient à cette époque parmi les plus amples et les plus intéressantes d'Europe. A ce dernier point de vue, l'attention accordée par tous les spécialistes à la production d'armes et d'outils de bronze en Transylvanie et à leur diffusion au loin, en dehors des actuelles frontières du pays est parfaitement justifiée. Les qualités artistiques de certains matériaux céramiques et métallurgiques — notamment des épées et des haches de combat — soutiennent la comparaison avec les produits les plus raffinés du monde méditerranéen, d'où ils tiraient souvent leur inspiration. Le décor incisé et les spirales — les unes isolées, les autres groupées en guirlandes symétriques, qui soulignent discrètement l'architecture des vases et semblent imiter les vases métalliques —, ainsi que la précision et l'élégance du décor géométrique qui orne les armes d'apparat de l'aristocratie tribale, attestent une longue tradition de culture, qui peut être suivie durant tout le cours du IIe millénaire av. n. è.

Ainsi, le développement de la métallurgie du bronze a assuré à toute la région carpato-danubienne une place de premier plan dans l'histoire de l'Europe. L'âge du bronze «hongro-roumain»» — terme assez impropre, mais qui a le mérite de souligner une certaine unité culturelle existant entre les groupes de la zone de la Theis et ceux de Transylvanie — a fait l'objet d'études particulières, basées autant sur l'évolution des formes caractéristiques des armes et de l'outillage de bronze que sur les observations stratigraphiques, même partielles. Que l'on accepte la périodisation plus ancienne de P. Reinecke, complétée ultérieurement par V. Gordon-Childe, suivant laquelle l'âge du bronze peut être divisé en quatre phases (A-D), dont la dernière est de fait la phase ancienne (A) du Hallstatt, ou celle utilisée de façon courante par les archéologues d'aujourd'hui, qui distinguent trois phases — ancienne, moyenne et tardive — de l'âge du bronze, un fait est certain, à savoir que le millénaire sur lequel s'étend cette période a joué un rôle d'une importance exceptionnelle dans l'évolution de la préhistoire tant roumaine qu'européenne.

La fréquence des armes et des objets de parure, dont les uns remarquablement décorés — haches de combat, épées, poignards, brassards, fibules, etc. — attestent l'existence d'une aristocratie tribale et de préoccupations guerrières. Il est connu, d'autre part, qu'à l'époque moyenne de l'âge du bronze, à partir du XIVe, siècle, ont lieu des mouvements de tribus du centre de l' Europe, connues sous le nom de «culture des sépultures tumulaires», dont la pression sera ressentie dans tout le Sud-Est européen deux siècles plus tard, constituant les prémices de la première époque de l'âge du fer, le Hallstatt ancien. C'est la une ère particulièrement dynamique, caractérisée d'une part par la métallurgie du bronze, d'autre part par de nouvelles synthèses ethniques et culturelles, typiques pour la phase finale du bronze et la première phase du Hallstatt.

Deux aspects archéologiques s'imposent à l'attention des chercheurs durant cette période: a) le nombre très considérable des dépôts d'objets de bronze — armes, objets de parure, outils et même lingots — du reste inégalement répartis sur le territoire du pays; b) les modifications progressives, mais irréversibles, accusées autant par les établissements humains et les rites d'enterrement que par la céramique, durant cette période comprise entre les XIIe - VIIIe siècles av. n. è. A cette époque, une série de mouvements d'intensité et de direction variables ont eu lieu dans le sein des tribus voisines du territoire de la Roumanie, à la suite desquels le Hallstatt roumain acquerra ses traits spécifiques, par rapport à ceux de l'est, du sud-est et du centre de l'Europe.

Ce n'est certes point par l'effet du hasard que les dépôts de bronze découverts sont à la fois plus fréquents et plus importants dans l'ouest de la Roumanie (plus de 250, par rapport aux quelque 500 objets de bronze isolés) qu'à l'est et au sud des Carpates.

Sans faire entièrement défaut au-delà des Carpates, les dépôts d'objets de bronze y sont à la fois moins nombreux et moins variés. Aux dépôts, découverts de longue date, de Sinaia, de Predeal et de Drajna de Jos, sont venus se joindre, ces derniers temps, ceux de la Dobroudja et de Moldavie. De nombreuses pièces de ces dépôts sont visiblement de provenance transylvaine, mais on ignore au juste s'il s'agit d'importations pacifiques de butin de guerre ou d'une avance vers l'est des tribus transylvaines au cours de la phase D de l'âge du bronze, car certaines de ces pièces appartiennent au grand groupe Uriu-Domanești. Citons parmi ces dernières les haches à douille sveltes à orifice droit et celles à orifice concave, les faucilles à crochet, les épées à languette, celles ayant une protubérance à leur extrémité et les fibules du type passementerie. D'autres pièces présentent des caractères communs à celles mises au jour dans la partie sud de l'U.R.S.S., telles que le poignard à manche ajouré et probablement le type de faucille à languette.

De telles pièces attestent un courant d'origine est-européen, dont l'intensité a pu être appréciée tout particulièrement par l'étude de la céramique, qui représente le second grand chapitre de l'archéologie de l'époque finale de l'âge du bronze et du Hallstatt ancien. Il s'agit en premier lieu de la céramique de type Noua, identifiée pour la première fois dans l'établissement éponyme proche de Brașov, dans le sud de la Transylvanie. Son aire de diffusion comprend, en Roumanie, le centre et l'est de la Transylvanie, l'est de la Valachie et toute la Moldavie. Mais elle dépasse de loin les frontières du pays vers l'est, dans le sud de l'U. R. S. S., où cette civilisation est connue sous le nom de complexe archéologique Sabatinovka, caractérisé par «les sépultures à constructions de bois». L'expansion vers l'ouest de ce groupe, qui appartient chronologiquement à l'époque moyenne pontique de l'âge de bronze et qui a transmis vers l'ouest des objets de bronze et des moules ouralo-caucasiens, , se heurtera dans la partie est de la Roumanie aux groupes Costișa-Monteoru-Wietenberg, qui sont à la base de l'aspect roumain de la civilisation de Noua. Les formes caractéristiques pour la céramique— pauvre en formes et comme décor — de cette civilisation, qui constitue la phase la plus ancienne du Hallstatt roumain, sont en premier lieu les nombreux vases en forme de sac et les coupes à

anses pourvues de boutons de différents types (conique, aplati, cylindrique ou à protomés), dont le modèle peut être relevé au cours de la période antérieure (phase finale des civilisations de Tei, Monteoru, Wietenberg et Costişa). Les établissements fort modestes — simples abris faits de branchages et de roseaux, facilement inflammables — connus par les archéologues soviétiques sous le nom de «Zolniki»—révèlent le très faible niveau de vie des populations Sabastinovka-Noua. D'autre part, la fréquence des ossements de bovins — dont certains transformés en outils — atteste leur caractère foncièrement pastoral. Le fait que, du moins dans sa phase initiale (Noua I), cette civilisation a emprunté certaines traditions propres à l'époque tardive de l'âge du bronze prouve que les populations plus anciennes ont contribué à sa formation. Mais sous la pression des tribus venues de l'est, leur mode d'existence s'est modifié et leur standard modeste accuse un contraste frappant avec la splendide civilisation de l'âge du bronze qui a précédé la civilisation de Noua. Même si du point de vue ethnique les changements intervenus à l'occasion de ces tranformations n'ont pas été aussi radicaux que ceux qui se sont produits à la fin du IIe millénaire, lorsque les tribus de pasteurs de langue indo-européenne avaient mis fin à la civilisation de la céramique peinte de Cucuteni-Tripolje, il n'en reste pas moins vrai que la formation et l'extension de la civilisation de Sabatinovka-Noua représentent pour la Roumanie, toutes proportions gardées, l'expression archéologique des grands changements connus dans l'histoire du bassin égéen sous les noms d' «attaque des peuples de la mer» et «invasion dorienne».

A partir de prémices différentes, le Hallstatt ancien fait également son apparition dans la partie ouest de la Roumanie. La «culture des tombes tumulaires», dont le rôle dans la formation du Hallstatt roumain en général avait été exagéré, n'en a pas moins constitué un des éléments composants de cette nouvelle période. Elle affectera dans son expansion, ne fût-ce qu'indirectement, les groupes Otomani et Periam-Pecica, situés aux confins orientaux de son aire. Enfin, dans la région comprise entre le Danube et la Mer Noire, on voit se cristalliser à partir du Xe siècle la civilisation de Babadag, dont la structure atteste la présence d'un courant sud-danubien aux affinités anatoliennes marquées.

Nous avons cru devoir nous arrêter plus longuement sur la période de transition de l'âge du bronze à l'âge du fer, d'abord parce que tout l'espace carpato-danubien et centre-européen a été alors le théâtre d'importants courants et contre-courants ethniques et culturels, et ensuite parce que, dans toute cette zone, la constitution des prémices de l'âge du fer a été marquée par des tranformations radicales. Après le millénaire de splendide civilisation qui a caractérisé l'âge du bronze, la population carpato-danubienne en était donc réduite à repartir presque de zéro et à reprendre, pour tout un nouveau millénaire, la voie longue et ardue de la civilisation du fer.

COMMENTS

VULPE:

Je me rapporte un peu à cette céramique, dont j'ai parlé aujourd'hui, de Cucuteni «C». C'est une catégorie, ce n'est pas une phase chronologique, mais elle fait son appatition seulement dans la phase ainsi nommée par Hubert-Smith, Cucuteni «B2» pour se développer dans la phase suivante Cucuteni «A-B».

Dans la phase principale où cette civilisation Cucuteni Tripolje s'est constituée

définitivement, c'est-à-dire la phase de céramique grossière à face contenant des fragments de coquillages. fait complètement défaut. C'est pour celà qu'elle a une signification historique car si elle avait été trouvée même dans les stations Cucuteni «A» celà voudrait dire qu'elle fait partie constitutive de cette céramique d'utilisation courante, donc sans aucune signification.

Mais du moment que dans la phase Cucuteni «A», qui a fini par un désastre, elle ne fait son apparition que dans la phase suivante, Cucuteni «A-B» qui représente une nouvelle invasion à l'intérieur de l'ère Cucuteni «A-B», venant du côté du Dniester où elle était née, parce qu'à la rive Ukrainienne du Dnieper on a trouvé même des cas où les deux styles sont associés sur les mêmes bases. Ceci marque une phase de transition. C'est de là que cette céramique a été portée vers les Karpates et les hommes qui l'ont portée sont responsables de la destruction des hommes des stations de la Phase «A» peuplée par leurs frères, au fond, car c'est la même coutume. Et puis, cette céramique primitive, qui a des affinités avec la Fein Cheramik de leurs frères asiatiques, cette céramique devient plus fréquente, encore plus développée, dans la phase de Cucuteni «B». Enfin, Cucuteni «B» subira un désastre définitif après quoi les hommes des steppes feront leur apparition définitive dans cet âge».

CONDURACHI

M. Vulpe est l'auteur de la découverte la plus importante concernant la genèse de la civilisation Cucuteni «A». En effet, c'est lui qui a eu le mérite d'avoir découvert à Izvoarele (en Moldavie) la source de cette phase de Cucuteni-Tripolje. Il est certain aujourd'hui, grâce à cette découverte, que la civilisation de Cucuteni - Tripolje est vraiment Cucuteni-Tripolje et pas Tripolje-Cucuteni. Elle est née dans la bassin des Karpates, à l'est des Karpates de Moldavie. Donc M. Vulpe a doublement raison. D'abord en affirmant que cette civilisation de Cucuteni-Tripolje était née, déjà dans sa phase la plus ancienne, proto-Cucuteni, dans la région des Karpates orientales. Un autre mérite de M. Vulpe est d'avoir suivi les destinées de cette civilisation à l'est des Karpates, en constatant que ce qu'on appelle Tripolje «A» n'est en fait que Cucuteni «B», autrement dit, que les débuts de la civilisation de Tripolje dans sa première phase sont en réalité une expression de la deuxième phase de Cucuteni. Il a raison, en outre, d'affirmer que les éléments caractérisés comme étant Cucuteni «C» (un élément allogène pénétré un peu à l'improviste à l'intérieur de cette civilisation) appartiennent dans leur majeure partie à la phase de transition «A-B».

De grands débats ont eu lieu à cet effet. Qu'est-ce au fond Cucuteni «A» — Cucuteni «A-B» — Cucuteni «C»? On a commencé par croire qu'il s'agissait d'un enchaînement de phases. La phase Cucuteni «A-B» suivant la phase Cucuteni «A» marquerait dans ce cas-là une transition vers Cucuteni «B». Mais entre ces deux périodes il y a un millénaire de distance. La phase Cucuteni «A-B» peut donc être considérée comme une phase de changement ethnique et non pas comme une simple phase de transition dans l'évolution du style caractérisant la céramique peinte. Mais la question n'est pas là. En réalité il s'agit du fait que la phase Cucuteni «A» datée par le radio-carbon 14 vers 3100 av. n. é. contenait déjà — bien que très sporadiques — de ces éléments considérés comme instrus et propres à la céramique Cucuteni «C».

Que ce soit dès l'époque de Cucuteni «A» ou — comme M. Vulpe le dit — a partir de la phase Cucuteni «A-B», une chose reste importante: les infiltrations venues de l'est, illustrées par la céramique de type «C», sont beaucoup plus anciennes que la fin de cette civilisation qui est extraordinaire, à tel point qu'elle pourrait passer (à certains moments et si l'on excepte la Grèce) pour le sommet de la civilisation européenne du néolithique. On peut donc considérer que, sinon à partir de Cucuteni «A», du moins à partir

de Cucuteni «A-B» et d'autant plus au cours de Cucuteni «B», il y a certains éléments venus de l'est. De beaucoup plus primitive, la céramique à coquillages, dite céramique de type Cucuteni «C», s'est infiltrée de l'est à l'ouest. Or, le problème est important non seulement quant au choc qui s'est produit ainsi dans le domaine de la céramique peinte, mais aussi du choc de tribus dont il est le contre-coup, chose du reste connue et fréquente. Mais ce qui importe c'est que quelques siècles avant même le choc final, la céramique «C» avait pénétré sur les lieux. Il s'agit donc de plusieurs vagues de «lente» pénétration, dirais-je, à l'intérieur de la brillante céramique Cucuteni-Tripolje. Si l'on accepte la date de 3100 av. n. è. pour la civilisation de Cucuteni «A» et la datation de 2700 av. n. è. pour la céramique «A-B», alors la pénétration de la céramique de type «C», autrement dit des éléments venus de l'est, se placerait au moins un demi-millénaire avant la chute finale. C'est une expérience, si vous voulez, microcosmique, dans le sens du choc intervenu entre les éléments stabilisés de l'époque néolithique tardive et les éléments nouveaux venus de l'est. Cette expérience microcosmique pourrait nous donner une idée de la manière dont ces éléments ont pénétré — toujours par vagues successives — au sud du Danube, avec une fréquence qui allait s'accélerer durant un demi-millénaire. Elle nous oblige à considérer ces événements du point de vue sud-est européen en général et de la Grèce en particulier. Des tribus parlant un langue qu'on peut supposer indo-européenne s'infiltrent petit à petit, mais à un certain moment, quand la quantité finit par dominer, le choc se déclenche au dépens des tribus trouvées sur place, qui sont les tribus stabilisées du néolithique final.

Vous avez remarqué peut être que jusqu'à présent je n'ai jamais mentionné le nom d'Indo-européen. Ce n'est pas par respect pour mon grand ami, M. Georgiev, mais par prudence scientifique. Car la prudence doit être, selon moi, la souveraine des archéologues. Une telle prudence s'impose tout d'abord parce que les tribus parlant une langue ou un dialecte indo-européen ne sont pas le produit de quelque miracle ou d'une génération spontanée. Elles aussi ont dû avoir un passé remontant au paléolithique. Le malheur est que nous ne savons pas ce qu'étaient ces tribus. Etaient-elles des tribus appartenant à la phase Cucuteni-Tripolje ou de celles ayant développé cette extraordinaire civilisation de Cucuteni «A-B»? S'ils veulent rester honnêtes par rapport à leur documentation, les archéologues doivent reconnaître la réalité des chocs, des mutations, mais au-delà de cette constation, les conclusions sont plutôt du domaine des hypothèses. Que ce soit les Indo-européens qui ont fini par éliminer la civilisation de Cucuteni-Tripolje, que ce soit des tribus parlant une langue apparentée, la question reste la même. Mais on a quelque mal à s'imaginer que des tribus distribuées sur un territoire plutôt vaste et s'acheminant peu à peu vers la Grèce parlaient une langue commune. Je pense qu'en ces temps reculés la réalité était toute autre, car, n'oublions pas, qu'il n'y avait pas alors de patrie commune, ni de langue commune. Tout au contraire, il y avait une grande diversité de langues et non pas de dialectes seulement. Le fait que même en 1912 en Inde il y avait plus de 200 langues prouve que l'humanité à ses débuts ne parlait pas une langue commune qui se serait séparée avec le temps en quantité de langues très différentes. Il semble que c'est le processus contraire qui a eu lieu: des langues complètement différentes ont fini par s'apparenter avec le temps. C'est pourquoi, il me semble que la question qui se pose est de savoir si une ou plusieurs langues indo-européennes auraient non seulement survécu mais réussi même à dominer les autres langues au point d'établir une sorte de koine indo-européenne dans les Balkans? C'est là le problème. Et j'aimerais que les linguistes nous en donnent une réponse, ce qui nous permettrait de mieux comprendre l'évolution de ces tribus.

VL. GEORGIEV

Vous avez dit qu'à la fin de l'époque du fer il y a un grand changement de civilisations. Quelles sont les causes de ce changement? Migrations, changements ethniques ou bien vaisseaux de la civilisation grâce à la découverte de nouvelles techniques, la technique du fer etc?

CONDURACHI

Heureusement, les archéologues peuvent nous donner cette fois-ci une réponse précise. L'époque du Bronze a été tellement brillante, non seulement en Roumanie mais dans le Sud-Est européen. L'époque du Bronze a donné une sorte de super-vision du monde balkanique à tel point que Homère, qui rappelle la participation des Thraces à la guerre de Troie, considérait, et à juste raison, les Thraces comme les égaux des Troyens dont ils étaient les alliés. Et les découvertes archéologiques nous ont démontré que les armes, les bijoux, les citadelles, les forteresses et les dépôts de bronze étaient des choses impressionnantes. Par rapport à cette époque du Bronze, l'époque du Fer, le Ashta A et le Ashta B, sont vraiment quelque chose d'étonnant. D'abord par la fréquence des dépôts de bronze mais en même temps par l'apparition, du point de vue de sites, des établissements humains, des choses tout à fait modestes, du moins dans la partie Est du pays, qui représente la pointe la plus occidentale de cette civilisation qu'on peut appeler Sabatinovca dont la partie Ukrainienne pointait vers les Karpates. Tandis que, au delà des Karpates, dans la zone antérieurement représentée par la civilisation du Bronze, Perian Picka. C'est quand même une sorte de déclin. Il y a du bronze, il y a des vases de la céramique Ashta, mais c'est beaucoup inférieur au genre qu'on connaissait auparavant. Donc il y a déclin total du point de vue Est des Karpates et un déclin moindre, mais accusé quand même, du côté Quest des Karpates. Il s'agît d'une différence totale ou presque totale, du point de vue de la civilisation. Ceci ne veut point dire, je ne l'ai d'ailleurs jamais affirmé, qu'il s'agît d'une population différente comme langue. Je crois que la seule comparaison possible serait la comparaison entre Achéens et Doriens, dans le sens qu'il y a la civilisation mycénienne, qui était arrivée à une sorte de floraison exceptionnelle au XVe, XIVe et XIIIe siècle a.n.è. et qu'à partir du XIIe siècle, justement à cause de la pénétration des Doriens, est descendue à un niveau, qui est remonté ensuite, un niveau qui est, de toute façon, plus bas que celui de Mycènes, Tiryns, Pylos etc. Nous avons donc en Roumanie, puisqu'il s'agît d'un microcosme, même un microcosme qui en dit long, un processus absolument similaire. Nous avons l'époque du bronze qui est extraordinaire, à tel point que Milojcic, et surtout Garašanin, ont pu parler de transition Troie, Transylvanie et Suède, jusque aux pays scandinaves, et puis voilà, nous sommes de nouveau en bas. C'est une des phases, et ce n'est pas la première fois. Je n'ai jamais affirmé que c'est comme disait Vicco, le grand philosophe italien, «corso e ricorso della storia», en même temps changement absolu de population. Pour moi la population qui était présente à l'époque du Bronze est du même genre que celle qui a suivi à l'époque du Ashta, à cette condition près qu'il s'agît d'une nouvelle vague qui du point de vue civilisation était beaucoup plus bas, partait d'un plan beaucoup plus bas que celle qui avait donné cette splendide civilisation de l'époque du Bronze. C'est tout ce que je peux dire, et, si c'était à demander mon avis de façon discrète, si vous voulez, et bien les Thraces et les Illyriens étaient florissants à l'époque du Bronze mais ils ont été suivis, poursuivis, si vous voulez, par des parents pauvres qui ont voulu et qui ont occupé la Thrace à partir du Ier millénaire. C'est une histoire de famille, si vous voulez, de la famille indoeuropéenne. Les parents pauvres ont finalement réussi à prendre la place des parents mieux placés du point de vue fortune, civilisation etc.

DER FRÜHE ZEUS

bei

Prof. Dr. ERIKA SIMON

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Die Frage nach der Einwanderung indogermanischer Stämme in Griechenland ist, wie schon Lord William Taylour in diesem Kreis betont hat, eng verbunden mit der Frage nach der Einwanderung des Zeus. Der Name dieses höchsten griechischen Gottes ist bekanntlich etymologisch so gut erklärbar wie der keines anderen der zwölf großen Götter. Seit der Entdeckung der indogermanischen Sprachverwandtschaft steht fest, daß Ζεὺς πατήρ im Iupitter der Römer und im dyauš pitár der Inder seine Entsprechung hat. Der zweite Teil des Namens, der den Gott als Vater bezeichnet, entspricht der patriarchalischen Struktur der indogermanischen Völker.[1] Der erste Teil bezieht sich auf den leuchtenden Himmel. Diese Tatsache wollen wir im Auge behalten, wenn wir nach dem Wesen des frühen Zeus fragen, obwohl sie von Martin P. Nilsson zurückgewiesen wird. Der Gelehrte schreibt,[2] die Gleichsetzung des Zeus mit dem hellen Himmel sei «nichts als ein letzter Rest der naturmythologischen und etymologischen Schulmeinungen, der allem widerspricht, was aus Tatsachen über den Ursprung des Gottes ermittelt werden kann.» Nilsson hält Zeus für einen ursprünglichen Regen-und Gewittergott, wobei ihm antike Quellen selbstverständlich reich zufließen. Ζεὺς ὕει, Ζεὺς ἀστράπτει, das Regenwasser heißt τὸ ἐκ Διὸς ὕδωρ und so fort. «Dahinter steht», so Nilsson, «sollider Volksglaube». Daran zweifelt gewiß niemand. Dennoch hat der Gelehrte nach meiner Meinung den frühen Zeus zu einseitig rekonstruiert. Der Gott hätte von jenem begrenzten Ursprung her kaum die absolute Überlegenheit erringen und behaupten können, die er von den homerischen Epen an bis zum Ende der griechischen Religion besaß.

Daß Zeus für die Vorstellung der Griechen nicht nur Regen und Gewitter sondern auch den heiteren Himmel machte, geht z.B. aus einem Gleichnis der Ilias hervor (16, 297 ff.). Zeus vertreibt vom Gebirge die Wolke, «und der nie erlöschende Äther brach sich vom Himmel her Bahn». In diesem hellen, glänzenden Element, dem Äther, ist auch die Wohnung des Zeus - αἰθέρι ναίων heißt es von ihm bei Homer. Die Etymologie seines Namens stimmt damit überein. Man könnte fragen, weshalb sich dieser Name nur auf die leuchtende Seite des Himmels bezieht, da Zeus doch auch die dunklen Wolken sendet. Darauf wäre zu antworten, daß in Götternamen, besonders bei sehr gefürchteten göttlichen Wesen, häufig ein Euphemismus waltet. Man denke an die Eumeniden, an Pluton, Zeus Meilichios. Zwar meint Nilsson, dem griechischen Bauern sei Regen sicher wichtiger gewesen als Sonnenschein, den er ohnehin hatte.[3] Das stimmt, trägt aber zur Erkenntnis des frühen Zeus nicht viel bei. Denn dieser ist–dafür haben sich in neuerer Zeit die Argumente vermehrt—aus einer nördlicher gelegenen Gegend und einem rauheren Klima in die Ägäis eingewandert. Ziel meines kurzen Vortrags ist es, Ihre Aufmerksamkeit auf die nördlichen Verbindungen des Zeuskultes zu lenken.

Erhoffen Sie bitte von meinen Ausführungen keine neuen chronologischen Aufschlüsse. Ich gehe vielmehr davon aus, daß der Kult des Zeus mit den frühesten griechisch spre-

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1) Dabei ist zu bemerken, dass Zeus in griechischen Gebeten zwar sehr häufig Vater genannt wird, dass er aber diesen Namen nie under den Kultbeinamen seiner Verehrungsstäten trägt.

2) M. P. NILSSON, Geschichte der griech. Religion I², HAW. V 2 (München 1955) 391 f. — hier: Nilsson, Geschichte.

3) NILSSON, Geschichte 393.

chenden Einwanderern in die Ägäis gekommen ist, und daß die Einwanderung in die Peloponnes nicht, wie Mr. Sinclair Hood in seinem Vortrag annahm, um 1200, sondern beträchtlich früher erfolgte. Seitdem wir die mykenische Schrift lesen können, ist urkundlich gesichert, daß Zeus bereits vor der dorischen Wanderung auf der Peloponnes verehrt wurde. Auf einer Tontafel aus Pylos ist sein Name im dativ (di-we) zu lesen.[4] Entsprechendes ergibt sich aus den homerischen Epen. Zeus ist der höchste Gott der (vordorischen) Achäer, deren Könige «zeusentsprossen» sind und ein Amt verwalten, das ihnen Zeus übertragen hat. Denken Sie an die Erzählung vom Zepter des Agamemnon im 2. Gesang der Ilias.[5] Derselbe Gesang, der zu den ältesten Teilen des Epos gehört, gibt uns Aufschluß darüber, mit welchem griechischen Stamm Zeus ganz besonders verbunden war. Wie Ludwig Preller bereits vor mehr als 100 Jahren gesehen hat, waren es die Ἕλληνες, ein in Thessalien lebender Stamm, dessen Name später der allgemeine Name der Griechen wurde.[6] Sie bewohnten die thessalischen Orte Phthia und Hellas, «reich an schönen Frauen», und wurden «Myrmidonen und Hellenen und Achäer genannt» (Ilias 2, 683 f.). Ihr ἄναξ war Achilleus, der sich im 16. Gesang der Ilias in einem eigenartigen Gebet an Zeus wendet (233 ff.).: Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναῖε Πελασγικέ ... Dieser Anruf, «unique in Greek literature» und bereits antiken Homerinterpreten ein Rätsel, läßt sich mit Hilfe von Prellers Kombination und der neuen Forschungen des Religionshistorikers H.W. Parke[7] wie folgt verstehen. Da Homer entlegene Kultbräuche nicht wie Kallimachos um ihrer selbst willen aufspürt, muß dieses Gebet für seinen Achilleus charakteristisch sein. Der Heros wendet sich an den Gott seiner Vorfahren, den Inhaber der ältesten Stätte des Zeuskultes in Griechenand. Er nennt auch die Priester des dodonäischen Zeus, die Selloi (oder Helloi), die in ihrem Namen denselben Wortstamm wie die Ἕλληνες haben.[8] Ihr Stamm muß von Epirus her, wo sie das Heiligtum von Dodona gründeten, in Thessalien eingewandert sein. Ein Teil von ihnen zog bis nach Ägina, blieb aber weiterhin, wie wir etwa an der Ahnentafel des Achilleus sehen, mit dem thessalischen Zweig verbunden. Über beide Zweige herrschten als ἄνακτες Aiakiden, zu denen Achilleus gehörte. Aiakos, der Eponym des Geschlechtes, gründete auf dem höchsten Berg der Insel Ägina, dem heutigen Oros, ein Heiligtum des Zeus Hellanios.[9] Wieder taucht hier der Name der Ἕλληνες auf. Er hat sich, wie ich annehmen möchte, nicht aus «unknown reasons»[10] sondern wegen des ehrwürdigen Alters des von diesem Stamm gepflegten Zeuskultes auf die übrigen Griechen ausgebreitet. Denn in der Verehrung des Zeus fühlten sich die verschiedenen griechischen Stämme später als Einheit. Das zeigt am besten die panhellenische Kultstätte des Zeus von Olympia, die nach den Forschungen von Parke von Dodona her beeinflußt war.[11]

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4) M. VENTRIS - J. CHADWICK, Documents in Mycenaean Greek (Cambridge 1959) 125 f. 287; auch in Knossos ist der Name gelesen: ebendort 306.

5) 101 ff. Auf diese wichtige Stelle wird bereits 2, 46 vorausgewiesen. Agamemnon «nahm das väterliche Zepter, das unvergängliche, und ging mit ihm zu den Schiffen der Achäer.»

6) L. PRELLER, Griech. Mythologie I Theogonie und Götter (Leipzig 1854) 79 ff.

7) H. W. PARKE, The Oracles of Zeus (Oxford 1967) 1 ff. — hier: Parke, Oracles.

8) PARKE, Oracles 8.

9) E. DIEHL, Die Hydria. Formgeschichte und Verwendung im Kult des Altertums (Mainz 1964) 174 hier: Diehl, Hydria. — Die Quellen sind bei Roscher, ML. VI 623 s. v. Zeus zusammengestellt, wobei die Annahme, die Gründung des Aiakos habe nur lokale Bedeutung gehabt, nicht überzeugt. — In den Perserkriegen wurde der Zeus Hellenios von Ägina als panhellenisch angesehen (Herodot 9, 7) und unter Hadrian wurde sein Name in Panhellenios umgewandelt, dem der Kaiser auch in Athen einen Tempel stiftete (Pausanias 1, 18, 9). Zu Weiteren Heiligtümern und Festen dieses Gottes in der Kaiserzeit: H.Weber, Athen. Mitt. 84, 1969, 188 ff.

10) So M. P. Nilsson, Cults, Myths, Oracles and Politics in ancient Greece (Lund 1951) 66.

11) PARKE, Oracles 164.

Es war also eine Eigenschaft des Zeus, die Stämme eines Volkes um sich zu versammeln. Die Universalität des Gottes, die sich aus dieser Tatsache ergibt, ist ein wichtiges Argument gegen die Annahme von einem allzu begrenzten Ursprung. Neuere Untersuchungen über Göttergestalten in der griechischen Dichtung führen zu der Erkenntnis, daß die Götter starke Gegensätze in sich vereinen können. So sendet, um nur ein Beispiel zu nennen, Apollon die Pest und ist zugleich Heilgott. Es scheint, daß solche Gegensätze im Wesen eines Gottes um so stärker auftreten, je größer und mächtiger er ist.[12] Zeus war der größte und mächtigste von allen. Ihn mit Nilsson als ursprünglichen Gewittergott zu definieren, hieße «naturmythologische Schulmeinungen» anwenden, die Nilsson doch selbst zurückweist. Zeus muß vielmehr von Anbeginn über allen Naturerscheinungen als deren Lenker gestanden haben. Damit war er zugleich Lenker der Geschicke, denn das Schicksal der Menschen hing in der Frühzeit viel stärker als heute von den Naturgewalten ab. Vom Schicksalsgott aber ist es nur ein Schritt zum Orakelgott, der den Menschen ihr Los voraussagt. So gab Zeus bereits in Dodona Orakel und er muß diese Eigenschaft aus seiner früheren Heimat mitgebracht haben.

Wie nahe Wetter, Schicksal und Mantik in antiken Denken zusammengehörten, geht am deutlichsten aus der Art hervor, wie man die Vögel beobachtete. Viele von ihnen waren Wetterboten und Schicksalsboten zugleich. Vor allem aber waren «die Vögel des Himmels» Boten des Himmelsgottes Zeus. Nicht nur der Adler gehörte zu ihm als der größte und stärkste der Vögel, den er auch als Vogelzeichen bevorzugte,[13] sondern jeder andere Vogel konnte Διὸς ἄγγελος sein.[14] Zeus selbst nahm bei seiner ersten Verbindung mit Hera nach einer argivischen Sage die Gestalt eines Kuckucks an, in Helenamythos war er ein Schwan, in der von Aischylos in den «Aitnaiai» behandelten sizilischen Sage ein Geier. Zu den ältesten Vögeln des Zeus aber gehörten die wilden Tauben, die ihm Ambrosia brachten (Odyssee 12, 62) und sie als Orakelvögel auf der heiligen Eiche von Dodona saßen[15].

Die schon mehrfach zitierten Untersuchungen von Parke haben ergeben, daß die Eiche, in Dodona, von der aus Zeus weissagte, als heiliger Baum keine Parallelen in der Ägäis wohl aber bei nördlichen Völkern, etwa den alten Preußen, hat[16]. Auch die Kelten verehrten ihren höchsten Gott in Gestalt einer hohen Eiche. Für den großen Aschenaltar des Zeus in Olympia lassen sich ebenfalls Verbindungen mit dem Norden herstellen, wie Werner Krämer vor kurzem aufzeigte[17]. Die nächsten Vergleiche finden sich in monumentalen Altären aus kalziniertem Knochenschotter im Gebiet zwischen Donau und Alpen, aus dem späteren 2. Jahrtausend. Wichtige Aufschlüsse über den frühen Zeus ergeben sich ferner durch einen Vergleich mit dem römischen Iuppiter, dessen Kult-die römische Religion ist konservativ- zum Teil auf der altertümlichen Stufe von Dodona stehengeblieben war. Auch dem Iuppiter war die Eiche heilig und sein Priester, der flamen Dialis, war durch ähnliche urtümliche Tabuvorschriften gebunden wie die Selloi von Dodona[19]. Bei Iuppiter tritt auch die Beziehung zum leuchtenden Himmel in Kult und

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12) K. REINHARDT, Aischylos als Regisseur und Theologe (Bern 1949) 71. — G. GROSSMANN, Prometheie und Orestie (Heidelberg 1970) passim.

13) Ilias 8, 247 ff. 24, 314 ff. Dazu H. Stockinger, Die Vorzeichen im homerischen Epos (Diss. München 1959) 26. 129 ff.

14) So z. B. die Nachtigall bei Sophokles, Elektra 149.

15) PARKE, Oracles 43.

16) PARKE, Oracles 20 ff.

17) MAXIMUS TYRIUS, Phil. 2, 8: «Die Kelten verehren den Zeus; das keltische Zeusbild ist eine hohe Eiche.»

18) In: Helvetia Antiqua. Festschrift EMIL VOGT (Zürich 1966) 111 ff.

19) PARKE, Oracles 24 f.

Brauchtum klarer zutage als bei Zeus. Kurt Latte schreibt:[20] «Iuppiter ist dem römischen Bauern der Gott, der das Wetter schickt, das er braucht, mag es nun Sonnenschein oder Gewitter sein».

Der Name der Gemahlin des Iuppiter, Iuno, entspricht dem der Dione. Er ist nichts anderes als das weibliche Äquivalent zu Zeus. Wahrscheinlich ist er in der Form di-wi-ja in den Tontafeln von Pylos überliefert.[21] Im ersten Jahrtausend war Dione, bei Homer Mutter der Aphrodite, in Griechenland keine Kultgottheit, mit einer großen Ausnahme: Dodona. Dort wurde das alte Götterpaar Zeus Naios und Dione bis in die Spätzeit verehrt. Dione-Iuno, eine Göttin mit aphrodisischen Zügen, darf als die indogermanische Gemahlin des höchsten Gottes gelten. In Griechenland kam sie mit ihm nur bis in sein ältestes dortiges Heiligtum, Dodona, während sie sonst von der mächtigen, in der Ägäis alteingesessenen Hera verdrängt wurde. Deren Macht konnte der Einwanderer Zeus nur so unter seine Kontrolle bringen, indem er sie zu seiner rechtmäßigen Gattin erhob. In Rom blieb zwar der Name der Iuno erhalten, aber die Göttin war nach allgemeiner Vorstellung mit Hera gleichgesetzt.

In der «Preisgabe» der Dione spiegeln sich also Auseinandersetzungen des Ankömmlings Zeus mit den altägäischen Gottheiten. Denn nicht nur das Klima, auch die Landschaften und die Götter waren in der Ägäis sehr anders als in der nördlichen Heimat des Zeus. Er war und blieg ein ausgesprochen binnenländischer Gott, der am liebsten auf hohen Bergen hauste[22]. Das Meer überließ er seinem Rivalen Poseidon, dem alten männlichen Hauptgott der Ägäis. In dessen Machtbereich fielen, wie Sagen und Kulte zeigen, auch die Quellen und Flüsse. Diese hatten wie der Regen, der sie nährte, ursprünglich zur Herrschaft des frühen Zeus gehört. In Dodona gab es eine heilige Quelle und der dortige Beiname des Zeus, Naios, stammt höchstwahrscheinlich vom Fließen des Wassers.[23] Außerdem wurde der Kult des benachbarten Flusses Acheloos durch das Orakel von Dodona propagiert und tatsächlich in der gesamten griechischen Welt verbreitet.[24] Bei Homer hebt Achilleus diesen Flußgott, der mit dem Heros auch etymologisch verbunden ist, vor allen Gewässern hervor.[25] «It is interesting and appropriate that Homer has put into the mouth of Achilles both the unique prayer to Zeus of Dodona and the exaggerated description of the Acheloos. Both ideas derive from a bronze age period when Dodona was linked with Thessaly and the realm of Achilles.»

Von den Auseinandersetzungen des Zeus mit dem alten Gottheiten der Ägäis soll hier aber nicht die Rede sein—ich habe sie an anderer Stelle aufzuzeigen versucht. Hier möchte ich nur noch auf das Verhältnis des Zeus zu einem Gott eingegen, der ihm auf seinem eigenen Gebiet, dem leuchtenden Himmel, aber auch als Schicksals, — und Orakelgott zum Rivalen hätte werden können und zum Teil auch wurde. Dieser mächtige Gott, Apollon, streitet noch heute, wie wir sehen werden, bei bestimmten prähistorischen Fundstücken mit Zeus um den Vorrang. Durch den Einfluß des eng mit der Sonne verbundenen Apollon scheint sich Zeus, im Gegensatz zu Iuppiter, mehr den Gewittern und dem Regen als dem heiteren Himmel zugewandt zu haben. Im Grunde aber bewahrte Zeus auch gegenüber Apollon seine Überlegenheit. Parke hat in seinem Buch auf latente Spannungen zwischen den Apollonorakeln von Delos und Delphi und dem Zeusorakel von Dodona hingewiesen.[26] Der delphische Apollon bezeichnete sich zwar als Propheten

20) Rom. Religionsgeschichte, HAW. V 4 (München 1960) 81.
21) Dazu E. SIMON, Die Götter der Griechen (München 1969) 234 — hier: Simon, Götter.
22) Zeus als Berggott: ROCHER, ML. VI 567 ff. s.v. Zeus. NILSON, Geschichte 394 f.
23) So auch PARKE, Oracles 68; vgl. auch F. MUTHMANN, Antike Kunst 11, 1968, 30.
24) Zu Acheloos: MUTHMANN ebendort 41 f. H. P. ISLER, Acheloos (Bern 1970).
25) Ilias 21, 194 ff. Das Zitat nach PARKE, Oracles 155.
26) PARKE, Oracles 286.

des Zeus, als Verkünder des Willens seines Vaters.[27] Aber diese Beteuerungen klingen, wie es scheint, fast zu loyal. Daß es zwischen Apollon und Zeus nicht zu offener Rivalität kam, hat verschiedene Gründe. Einmal wurde der Apollonkult von einer Priesterschaft verbreitet, die sich mit großen Geschick anderen Kulten anzupassen verstand. Sodann war Apollon kein altägäischer Gott sondern selbst ein Eindringling wie Zeus. Und zwar kam er, wie auch Nilsson annimmt, aus dem Orient.[28] Als Abkömmling einer Hochkultur konnte Apollon auf dem helladischen Festland erst dann Wurzeln fassen, als dort bestimmte kulturelle Voraussetzunge gegeben waren, das heißt nicht vor der Schachtgräberzeit. Nach dem höher zivilisierten Kreta war er schon früher gekommen. Bei der Ankunft des Apollon war Zeus als König des Himmels und Vater der Götter und Menschen schon so konsolidiert, daß er den mächtigen Rivalen zu seinem Sohn machen konnte. Um in der Ägäis Fuß fassen zu können, mußte Apllon ohnehin dort geboren sein. So wurde die Insel Delos zur Stätte seiner Geburt, während der Ankömmling Zeus, in der gleichen Lage, Kreta zur Geburtsinsel erwählte.

Wie ähnlich Apollon und Zeus einander waren, geht nicht nur aus dem altitalischen Veiovis hervor, den man schon in der Antike bald als Zeus, bald als Apollon deutete.[29] Auch im griechischen Bereich konnten die beiden Götter in einer einzigen Gestalt aufgehen, in Aristaios. Auf die Bedeutung dieses Gottes für seine Verehrer weist schon der Superlativname hin. Pindar spricht in der 9. Pythie davon, daß die Horen den Aristaios zu einem unsterblichen Gott, zu Zeus und Apollon, gemacht hätten[30]. Er wurde vor allem auf der Insel Keos verehrt, wo er in der Zeit des heißesten Sonnenbrandes ein Opfer für Regen dargebracht haben soll. Zeus und Apollon hatten ferner viele gemeinsame Attribute. So führt Apollon in der Ilias die Ägis des Zeus (15, 229), die sonst nur noch Athene zukommt. In einem bei Pausanias erhaltenen delphischen Mythos (9, 36, 3) vertreibt Apollon Eindringlinge in sein Heiligtum mit Blitzen, den Waffen des Zeus. Auf dem Omphalos von Delphi sitzen Adler, die wir sonst als Vögel des Zeus kennen. Dem Apollon sind die Schwäne heilig, aber als Vater der Helena war Zeus ein Schwan. Der Rabe (κόραξ) und die Krähe (κορώνη) sind im thessalischen Asklepios-Mythos beide mit Apollon verbunden.[31] Daß der Rabe als Regenbote, wie die Vögel überhaupt, aber auch dem Zeus gehörte, läßt sich aus dem folgenden thessalischen Kultbrauch erschließen:

Der frühhellenistische Autor Antigonos von Karystos erzählt unter seinen Wundergesschichten, in Krannon in Thessalien gebe es zwei Raben, die zusammen mit einem bronzenen Wagen zu den Wahrzeichen der Stadt gehörten.[32] Der Wagen diente zu einem Regenzauber — in der Ackerbaulandschaft Thessalien wird bis in unsere Tage, wenn auch in anderer Form, Regenzauber geübt.[33] Damals erschütterten (σείοντες) die Einwohner von Krannon den Bronzewagen und flehten zu dem Gott um Wasser das ihnen, wie sie sagten, dann auch zuteil wurde (ὕδωρ αἰτοῦνται τὸν θεὸν καί φασι γίνεσθαι). Die bisherigen Interpreten dieser Stelle wie A. Furtwängler, A. B. Cook und E. Diehl stimmen darin überein, daß mit «dem Gott» Zeus gemeint sein muß, zumal der Adler auf Münzen von Krannon auf einen Kult des Zeus hinweist.[34] Andere Münzen der Stadt, aus dem 4.

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27) E. SIMON, Opfernde Götter (Berlin 1953) 24 f.

28) SIMON, Götter 132 ff. Apollon und Kreta: ebendort 122.

29) K. LATTE, Röm. Religionsgeschichte, HAW. V 4 (München 1960) 81 ff. E. GJERSTAD weist mich darauf hin, dass Veiovis wegen seiner Verbindung mit der Ziege sicher mittelmeerische Züge besitzt.

30) PINDAR, Pyth. 9, 64; vgl. auch Hesiod. Fr. 215 - 217 (Merkelbach - West).

31) Hesiod, Fr. 60 (Merkelbach - West).

32) Hist. Mir. 15 Müller, FHG. I 292.

33) B. SCHMIDT, Das Volksleben der Neugriechen und das hellenische Alterthum (Leipzig 1871) 30 f.

34) DIEHL, Hydria 175 mit der früheren Literatur.

Jh. v. Chr., zeigen den Wagen als Wappen und bestätigen den Bericht des Antigonos (Abb. 1; 2). Ja sie ergänzen den Autor darin, daß auf dem vierrädrigen Karren, von dem zwei Räder zu sehen sind, ein Gefäß steht. Auf dem einem Rad kann ein Rabe sitzen (Abb. 1), in anderen Prägungen sind es deren zwei. Das Gegäß wird meist als mit Wasser gefüllt angenommen, doch davon schreibt Antigonos nichts. Wahrscheinlicher hat man an das leere Gefäß wie an eine Glocke geschlagen — dies könnte durch σείοντες ausgedrückt sein — um Zeus aufmerksam zu machen. Die Raben könnten durch ihr Krächzen den Lärm unterstützt haben oder man ahmte durch den Lärm das Krächzen den Raben nach. Denn diese galten, ähnlich wie die Krähen, den Zeugnissen vieler antiker Schriftsteller zufolge als Regenboten.[35]

Die Form des Gefäßes auf den Prägungen von Krannon wechselt. Wie E. Diehl gezeigt hat, ist es nie eine Hydria, sondern bald ein Lebes (Abb.1) bald ein Volutenkrater (Abb.2). Wahrscheinlich glich das Original keinem der damals bekannten Gefäßtypen, denn der Typus des Wagens von Krannon reicht in die Bronzezeit zurück. Es handelt sich um einen sogenannten Kesselwagen, wie sie uns in mehreren Exemplaren aus dem späteren 2. Jahrtausend erhalten sind. Und zwar reichen die Fundplätze solcher Wagen von Nordeuropa bis zur Balkanhalbinsel herab. Oft sind die Wagen, wie in Krannon, auch mit Vögeln verbunden, man spricht dann von Vogelwagen.[36] Ein bedeutender Neufund dieser Art wurde im Jahre 1970 in Acholshausen, Kreis Ochsenfurt (südlich von Würzburg) gemacht (Abb. 3). Der Ausgräber, Ch. Pescheck, der freundlicherweise die Bekanntgabe des Fun-

des in diesem Kreis gestattete, wird ihn demnächst in der «Germania» vorlegen.[37] An dem zierlichen bronzenen Wagen ist alles erhalten: die vier Räder mit den jeweils vier Speichen, das Wagengestell mit dem bauchigen Gefäß von einer für die Urnenfelderzeit typischen Form und die vier Vogelprotome, die in elegantem Schwung mit dem Gestell verbunden sind—bei jedem Rad eine Protome. Das Gefäß des Bronzewagens von Krannon dürfte also eine prähistorische Urne gewesen sein.

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35) Stellensammlung bei O. Gruppe, Griech. Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte II (München 1906) 820 Anm. 1.

36) J. FILIP, Enzyklopädisches Handbuch zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Europas I (Prag 1966) 597 s.v. Kesselwagen; II (Prag 1969) 1599 s.v. Vogelwagen.

37) Reicher Grabfund mit Kesselwagen aus Unterfranken. Germania 50, 1971; vorläufig: Frankenland, Neue Folge 22, 1970, 240 ff. mit. Farbabbildung. — Der aus Bronze gegossene Wagen hat eine Höhe von 12 cm, eine Länge von 17.6 cm, die Bronzescheiben einen Diam. von 20.6 cm.

38) DIEHL, Hydria 10; 13; 22.

Die Vogelprotome zeigen allerdings nicht die Gestalt von Raben oder Krähen. Die langen, gerundeten Schnäbel, die ihre breiteste Stelle in der vorderen Hälfte haben, und die gebogenen Hälse sprechen für Wasservögel. Am wahrscheinlichsten sind wohl Enten gemeint, und dies dürfte auch für die anderen Vogelwagen gelten, so vorsichtig man mit der Bestimmung von Tieren auf prähistorischen Bildwerken auch sein muß. Kein anderer Vogel paßt so gut an ein Gerät, das dem Regenzauber dient, wie die Ente, deren ausdrucksvoller Kopf auch archaische Hydrien schmückt.[38] Wir haben gesehen, daß dem Naios von Dodona, die Quellen und Flüsse heilig waren. Auf ihnen lebt die Ente (νῆττη, νῆσσα, lat. anas), die aber nicht nur schwimmt sondern sich auch in die Luft erhebt, also beiden Herschaftsbereichen des Zeus zu Hause ist. So konnte sie das Flehen zu dem Himmelsgott um Wasser gewiß besonders wirksam unterstützen.

Uber die Vogelwagen besteht in der neueren prähistorischen Literatur freilich eine andere Meinung.[39] Die Vögel werden als Schwäne gedeutet und die Wagen als Objekte des Apollonkultes. Man bezieht sich dabei auf einen von dem spätantiken Rhetor Himerios paraphrasierten Hymnus des archaischen Dichters Alkaios an den delphischen Apollon. Es heißt dort:[40] «Als Apollon geboren war, schmückte Zeus ihn mit einer Mitra von Gold und einer Leier und gab ihm dazu noch ein Gespann zum Fahren; Schwäne waren das Gespan. Nach Delphi schickte er ihn und zum Kastalischen Quell, daß er von dort den Hellenen rechten Richterspruch und göttliches Recht verkünde. Apollon aber bestieg den Wagen und ließ die Schwäne zu den Hyperboreern fliegen». Der Gegensatz zwischen Zeus und Apollon, von dem wir hörten, ist auch hier latent vorhanden. Der Sohn befolgt den Befehl des Vaters nicht sogleich sondern fliegt mit dem von Zeus verliehenen Gespann zunächst zu den Hyperboreern. Erst nach einem Jahr läßt er, durch einen Paian herbeigerufen, die Schwäne nach Delphi ziehen.

Zwar wäre es denkbar, daß Apollon als Weihgeschenk einen Wagen erhalten konnte, an dem Vögel das Gespann bildeten. Aber wir haben für eine solche Weihung weder einen literarischen Beleg noch einen bildlichen Hinweis. Beides besitzen wir jedoch für die Verwendung der Vogelwagen als Regenzauber, nämlich den Bericht des Antigonos von Karystos und die Münzen von Krannon. Literarische und bildliche Überlieferung ergänzen sich hier so folgerichtig, daß es mir möglich ist, diese sicheren Zeugnisse zugunsten einer bloßen Hypothese zu verwerfen. Dazu kommt, daß der Flug des Apollon zu den Hyperboreern keineswegs als Hinweis auf die Herkunft des Gottes aus dem Norden gewertet werden darf.[41] Die Argumente hierfür fehlen denn der Reichtum an Schwänen in irgendwelchen nördlichen Sümpfen dürfte für die Herleitung des Apollonkultes von dort kaum genügen. Die Apollonische Religion zeigt die typischen Merkmale einer Hochkultur, wie sie der Norden damals nicht aufzuweisen hatte. Dagegen läßt sich die primitive Stufe des Zeuskultes von Dodona durchaus mit nördlichen Gebieten in Verbindung bringen. Das gleiche gilt, wie wir sahen, für den großen Aschenaltar von Olympia.

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39) E. SPROCKHOFF Jb. RGZM Mainz 1, 1954, 67 ff. M. GARASANIN, 39. Bericht RGK. 1958, 86.

40) HIMERIOS, Orat. 14, 10; Übersetzung nach der Tusculum-Ausgabe des Alkaios von M. TREU (München 1952) 23.

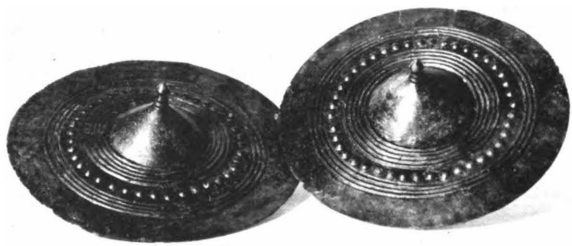
41) Das Umherschweifen (nicht nur zu den Hyperboreern) ist vielmehr für Apollon bezeichnend: Simon, Götter 139 ff.

Der schöne Fund von Acholshausen ist geeignet, die Diskussion um die Kessel- und Vogelwagen neu zu beleben. Denn er ist kein Einzelstück wie die bisher bekannten Exemplare sondern stammt aus einem reichen Grabzusammenhang. Nur zwei weitere Bronze-Objekte seien davon kurz gezeigt (Abb. 4) : zwei konzentrisch verzierte Scheiben mit buckelartigen Griffen in der Mitte, die wohl als Schallinstrumente (Kymbala) dienten. Wahrscheinlich hat ihr Schall beim Regenzauber das Tönen des leeren Gefäßes an das man schlug, unterstützt. Bezeichnenderweise sind bereits bei den alten deutschen Grabungen in Olympia in der Gegend des Zeusaltares ähnliche Bronze-Kymbala gefunden worden. Doch soll hier weder dem Material noch den Parallelen des Ausgräubers Ch. Pescheck vorgegriffen werden. Nur so viel sei zum Schluß verraten, daß er den Inhaber des Grabes für einen Priester hält. Der Gott, dem dieser Priester diente, muß nach alledem der indogermanische Himmelsgott gewesen sein, den die Griechen Zeus und die Römer Iuppiter nannten.

Der vorliegende Beitrag behält den Vortragscharakter bei. Von Anmerkungen sind nur die nötigsten gegeben. Ich möchte aus dem Kreis der Kongreßteilnehmer einige hervorheben, die mir durch Diskussion zur Klärung der Begriffe geholfen haben: H. -G. Buchholz, E. Condurachi, M. Garašanin, Vl. Georgiev. E. Gjerstad, R. Hampe, H. Herter, Sp.

Original from PENN STATE

Marinatos, H. Mühlestein, F. Schachermeyr. — Dank sei vor allem auch Ch. Pescheck, der mir erlaubte, seinen prächtigen Neufund hier vorläufig abzubilden (Abb. 3; 4). Ihm danke ich auch für manches Gespräch sowie für die Beschaffung von Literatur und Münzen. Beim Studium der Münzen von Krannon halfen mir ferner H.A. Cahn und Monsieur de Rider von der Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.



Photonachweise : Abb. 1 und 2. Bronzemünzen von Krannon. Staatl. Münzsammlung München. Aufnahmen K. Ohrlein (Würzburg).
Abb. 3. Bronzewagen von Acholshausen; Abb. 4. Bronzescheiben aus dem gleichen Grab. Aufnahmen O. Pilko (RGZM Mainz).

THE MIDDLE BRONZE I PERIOD AND ITS PROBLEMS

Mrs. RUTH AMIRAN
Israel Museum, Jerusalem

The MB I period (ca. 2200-2000 B.C.) is a period of very specific characteristics. In every thinkable aspect it differs from the preceding urban civilization of the Early Bronze (the third millennium). The urban forms of settlements and dwellings of the EB are completely absent in the MB I culture. Burial forms and customs are of a new type unknown in the EB culture. Pottery techniques and forms are different from the previous ones, and mostly strange to them. Such a completely new picture with so few ties with the previous phase strongly speaks for the interpretation that an ethnic migration is to be considered responsible for this drastic change in the pattern of culture. The lecturer illustrated these differences with the aid of slides showing on one hand various aspects of the Early Bronze II city of Arad, and on the other hand tombs and pottery of the MB I period. Two points about the MB I culture seem to be quite well established, namely, its instrusive character and its nomadic one as well. The lecturer dealt this time with two of the many problems, namely : a) The area of origin of these ethnic groups, who on their wanderings reached at a certain point the area of Canaan. b) Whether there is any connection, dependence or interdependence, between this phenomenon of the turbulant period of the MB I and other phenomena of analoguous nature in the other areas of the Near East and Eastern Mediterranean.

Answers to these two problems are as yet of speculative nature: the pottery surmises that the bearers of this MB I culture might, or must, have come from North Mesopotamia-North Syria. However, is their home to be sought in those areas? As for the second set of problems — it seems as yet too early to build up a coherent conception about the interdependence of events which occured in this very period throughout the areas of Eastern Mediterranean. However, a connection between the MB I of Canaan and the First Intermediate of Egypt seems probable. A connection of interconnection between the MB I phenomenon and the EB III period of Anatolia, and with the EH III of Greece and the Aegean, or with the Early Cypriot III, are aspects to be studied. In this latter point the lecturer has demonstrated that inspite of the «turbulent» character of the MB I period, its pottery repertoire indicates quite clear interrelationships with the EC III and the EM III pottery (Cf. the lecturer's papers in Kretika Chronica, 23, 1971, pp. 52 ff., and in The Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus, 1971 (in press). Also such a phenomenon of pottery connection, i.e. some sort of trade relations, between areas overseas, during a period of this character — is in need of much more research.

COMMENTS

VL. GEORGIEV:

This question is very important for us who are interested in the Aegean province. Where, in this scheme, is the break from the Philistines? Is it possible to assume that the Philistines came from Crete? Are there such archaeological proofs?

AMIRAN replies:

As I said before, the Philistines are beyond the scheme. The Philistine period is in the

12th, and 13th centuries and constitutes the second big crisis in the history of the country, so, as a matter of fact, we are earlier at the time being, some 800 years before that second crisis came up in that part of the world with the Philistines, with the Israelites and with other small peoples who intruded into the country around 1200 B.C. So, we are much before the Philistines and these vague connections I tried to show that existed between the Aegeans and that Palestine are much, much earlier.

THE COMING OF THE INDOEUROPEANS AND THE TWIN PILLARS

By
CHRYSSOULA P. KARDARA
Knossos Street, 9, Athens

According to tradition, the τελχῖνες, the legendary bronze-smiths of Crete, were able to attract lightning strokes, to produce snow and rain, and were, therefore, remembered as magicians.

Tradition about the efforts of ancient people in producing lightning strokes and rain was not confined to Crete alone and also not restricted to prehistoric times only. In its manifold and widespread examples this tradition invited research, the results of which were published by the speaker a few years ago in the Archaeological Ephemeris.[1]

According to these results, literary tradition about the miraculous producing of lightning and rain, corroborated by the archaeological evidence, seems to be more or less connected with the cult of the Thundergod. Owing to the limited time, however, this paper will be confined to the kernel of this tradition in the Aegean, that is to say in the Creto-Mycenaean territory, and to its possible derivation from the North.

According to the archaeological evidence, the Cretans and the Mycenaeans seem to have had, before the middle of the 2nd Millennium B.C., a system by which at times, connected perhaps mostly with season festivals, they attempted to increase the probabilities of attracting strokes from thunder clouds and thus to produce rain; and relate to that probability the divine will, beneficial or not. As we know, rain falls usually after lightning; and rain plays an important role in the welfare of many agricultural and pastoral communities. It was probably most indispensable for the welfare of the Creto-Mycenaeans as well as of their neighbours in the Eastern Mediterranean. Glimpses about this need for rain we get when we read through the Old Testament.

The Aegean system we spoke of seems to have been installed on Peak Sanctuaries. The occasional lightnings and subsequent rains were thus vested in sanctity. In most cases an essential part of these Peak Sanctuaries seems to have been a cave or cave-like structure with its rear wall bordering the slope.

The mouth of this cave seems to have been more or less elevated in the middle, (fig. 1 and 2) sometimes left open,[2] (fig. 1) other times provided with a more or less elaborate façade either supported by columns on its three sides[3] (fig. 2) or closed with a door and flanked by side-walls[4] having small or larger openings at their top (fig. 3). This cave, however, does not seem to have been intended as a temple for a cult-image but rather as a place to house secret rites, probably cathartic, associated with fertility and the Mother-Goddess, being perhaps the symbol of her womb. It was probably inherited from earlier times, most likely neolithic. It formed thus, the remote ancestor of secular caves and cave-like Telesteria of historical times, also known as m e g a r a. These megara had probably nothing to do with the Mycenaean royal palaces, inspite of contrary views. They were rather associated with the holy caves of early times where primitive fertility rites were performed, mostly by women.

Apart from this cave, these Peak Sanctuaries comprised the following parts:

A T r e e and P i l l a r s. The tree in most cases was above the cave, on the slope. The pillars were high, free standing and isolated, mostly in pairs flanking the façade of this cave-like structure. These twin-pillars,[5] dominating with their imposing height the whole

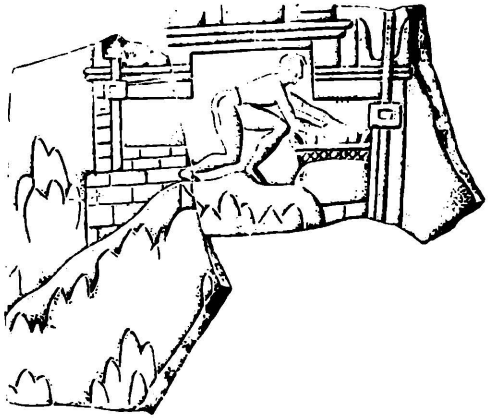


FIG. 1 Rhyton (fragments) from Knossos

FIG. 2 Fresco from Knossos

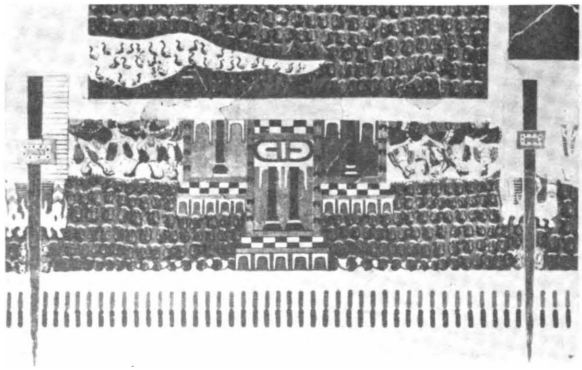
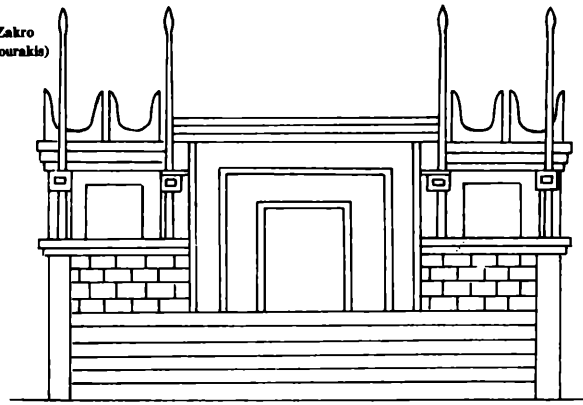


FIG 3
Rhyton from Zakro
(drawing by Fanourakis)



Peak Sanctuary, could have been of timber or stone, but they could also have been made of bronze, at least in part, and hollow inside, as we know from later survivals.

A spring or a fountain also formed part of these Peak Sanctuaries. The lion heads which are seen or representations of these sanctuaries may be explained as lion spouts of the fountains. The Sanctuary shown, f.i., on the well known gold ring from Mycenae[6] may have had an ἑξάκρουνος fountain, i.e., a fountain with six lion spouts. Other sanctuaries shown elsewhere may have had fountains with fewer spouts.

One or two altars formed also an essential feature of these Peak Sanctuaries. A big ash alter, for holocausts perhaps, and a small fire altar sometimes...

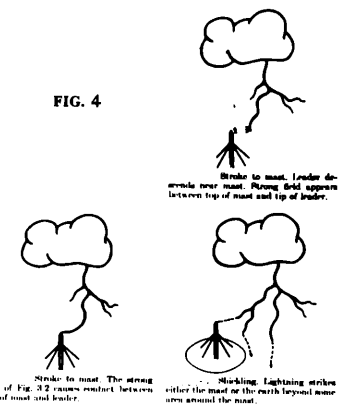
The main characteristic features, however, of these Aegean Peak Sanctuaries was the absence of free - standing Temple. This feature alone shows that Peak Sanctuaries were connected with the Thunder (or Storm) - God, known also as the Sky-God, whose cult seems to have been aniconic originally, at least as far as large figures were concerned, and did neither need nor allow free-standing structures in his Open Sanctuaries. This feature seems to have been mostly retained not only throughout the ancient times but also in the Early Christian Era by the cult of the Germanic and Norse God Thor or Thunor whom the Latins equated with their Jupiter.

On the basis of these essential features of those Aegean Peak-Sanctuaries, one can now explain how the tradition about the miraculous producing of lightning and rain evolved. It can be comprehended as a result of an elementary application of the laws of electrophysics. This application could take place near the high free-standing pillars which formed the most essential part of these Sanctuaries and the basic instruments of this system. This application was probably performed by special persons, mainly experts in the art of the smith. The latter were mostly confined to the Sanctuaries and associated with the Palaces; and, having inherited an empirical knowledge of these laws of electrophysics, compiled through generations, were familiar with the behaviour of lightning especially. This explains why the Τελχῖνες, the legendary smiths of Crete, produced lightning and rain, why thunderbolts were thought to be manufactured by smiths, why the Thundergod himself was often a smith.

The main data which betray the existence of this empirical knowledge and support the literary tradition about miraculous producing of lightning and rain are the following:

Lightning strokes are attracted by isolated tall trees and more so by high, free-standing pillars or posts (fig. 4). The frequency of lightning strokes, however, is greater if those pillars are located on mountains; and more so if they are located on the way followed by rain clouds — something that in the Greek Peninsula is mostly through highlands. Moreover, the same frequency is still greater if these pillars are in the vicinity of a conductor, such as a spring, surrounded by a non-conductive material such as rock. And the same frequency is even greater if these pillars are in certain special localities perhaps because of the abrupt change of the different underground strata. For the experts tell us that the initial current which causes lighthing-strokes often does not start from the cloud above the

FIG. 4



earth but from the earth itself. This is probably the reason that thunderbolts were alleged to have been manufactured in the interior of the earth. These physical laws were then probably known to the ancient people in an empirical form. Likewise, still another physical law was also known to them: The experts again tell us that in the vicinity of a high pillar there is a circular zone in which lightning is not likely to strike (fig. 6). Thus, around this pillar there is a protected area in the form of a cone. In case, however, there are two or se veral pillars the protected area is far greater than the sum of these cones. Consequently, they can be looked at not as decorative but as instrumental members of these sanctuaries.

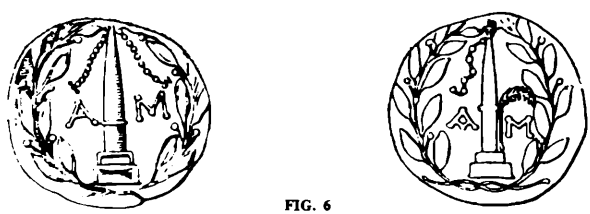


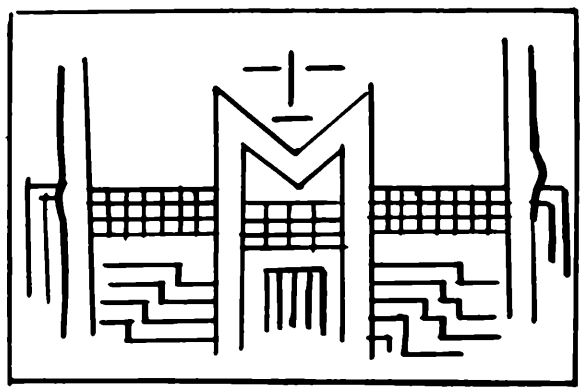
FIG. 6

Installed at a considerable height above sea-level, on a mountain, near a spring flowing from a rock, within an area whose locality had been chosen because its being frequented by lightning, these pillars not only seem to have invited lightning strokes from storm clouds and to have, thus, created the miraculous epiphany of the sky-god in the form of lightning and rain, but also to have provided an invisible shield protecting a great number of people from lightning strokes. This is perhaps the subject of the well known fresco from Knossos. These high Creto-Mycenaean pillars have been variously interpreted, as we know. The closest theory, to our view, is the theory expressed by Dr. Alexiou a few years ago, largely based on Professor Marinatos's earlier keen observations that these pillars were not supporting members but stood free. According to the theory of Dr. Alexiou these pillars imitated the pairs of masts semi-attached of the façade of the Temple Complexes in Egypt.[7] There seems to be a relation between these pillars and the Egyptian masts but there are also differences between them, which suggest that this relation is rather indirect. These differences are: the Egyptian masts were rather decorative while the Aegean pillars were not; the Egyptian masts were semi-attached on the façade of Temple Complexes built on flat land whereas the Aegean pillars stood free in Open Sanctuaries deprived of any temple and located on peaks; the Egyptian masts date from the New Kingdom while the flourishing period of the Aegean pillars is earlier and the Peak Sanctuaries date from the Middle Bronze Age.

This overall evidence implies a direct relation of the Aegean pillars with northern highlands. These highlands can therefore, be considered as the region from where these pillars spread to Greece. Archaeological evidence seems somehow to support this view:

A fragment of a large relief pithos (fig 5) found in Middle Danube, in Vinca, dating from the period between 2300 and 1730 B.C., shows a representation[8] which was interpreted by Popovich first as a funerary chapel crowned with horns of consecration, then as a shrine imitating a Mesopotamian prototype. By the speaker, however, it has been interpreted as a Peak Sanctuary resembling Aegean Peak Sanctuaries, especially one dicted on the Volos gold foil, located probably in Thessaly.

FIG. 5 Fragmentary pithos from Vinča



The Vinca Peak Sanctuary seems to have been accessible by a staircase, like the Zakro Peak Sanctuary, and to have comprised a cave and two high free-standing pillars in front of it. Like the roof of most caves, the roof of this Vinca cave was projecting downwards and was thus, probably provided with an additional flat ceiling. This structural feature was invisible, of course, from the outside but it has been specified by the craftsman because primitive artists often did so, as Professor Marinatos already pointed out regarding Mycenaean vase painting. Like the cave of the Thessalian Peak Sanctuary, the Vinca cave seems to have had a tall and slender façade flanked by lower side walls; also a door in the middle. Two high free-standing pillars dominated this Sanctuary, placed symmetrically in front of its cave, as on most Aegean Peak Sanctuaries. Each of these two pillars was provided with some hangings. At first sight these hangings appear to be bands or ropes. But considering other known subsequent examples from Greece — possibly of Balkan origin—namely the ἁγωτεῖς (Fig. 6), as well as others from outside Greece, these hangings can be identified as chains. Chains seem to be absent from the Aegean pillars at first sight, yet they may have been there entwined at about half the height of the pillars and betrayed only by a series of discs. These bronze chains seem to have played some role in the rites performed for attracting of lightning and the epiphany of the Thundergod, perhaps because they acted as complementary conductors.

The Vinca pillars, therefore, may represent not only the remote ancestors of Maypoles on European soil but also further evidence that the Vinca culture was not purely neolithic but chalcolithic, a theory propounded by the late Vasic and vigourously supported lately by Milojcic. The speaker does not feel competent to discuss the problems connected with the Vinca culture, especially in the presence of so many eminent authorities, i.e., that of its origin, that of the alleged establishment in its region in Middle Danube of Aegean-Oriental commercial outposts, perhaps including Accadian and Hurrian elements or even that of the rapid or slow migrations in the Balkan peninsula before or after 2000 B.C. but just to point out that the presence at that time of an imposing Peak Sanctuary similar to the Aegean Peak Sanctuaries in existence at the end of the Middle Bronze Age and especially similar to a Thessalian Peak Sanctuary, can hardly be explained on the basis of commercial activities alone.

An omphalos found in Vinca near the fragmentary pithos with the Peak Sanctuary strengthens this view. The omphalos was the symbol of Apollon in later times and Apollon was connected with the Hyperboreans and the Far North. The Vinca omphalos therefore, as well as the representation of the Vinca Peak Sanctuary provide enough evidence of the existence of a similar cult in the Aegean and the Middle Danube in the early part of the 2nd Millennium B.C. The view the Vinca sanctuary probably imitated Aegean prototypes, based on the principle that the more simple cultures depend on the more advanced ones, does not seem satisfactory because this principle can be hardly applied to religion; inasmuch as the Vinca Sanctuary, if not earlier, is at least contemporary with the Aegean Sanctuaries. For Peak Sanctuaries seem to occur in Middle Bronze Age Greece and representations of them with twin pillars date from the end of that Age. We venture therefore, to suggest that these Peak Sanctuaries owed a lot to the people who coming to Greece from the North or North-East in various waves before or after 2000 B.C. introduced the burial mounds such as those found recently by Professor Marinatos in Marathon. These funerary mounds stood up against the skyline as the Peak Sanctuaries did.

It is quite possible then that the main cult exercised in the Aegean Peak Sanctuaries was no longer the cult of the Mother Goddess but that of the Sky-God. This cult seems also to be present in Vinca. For on the Vinca fragment this God is shown descending from heaven on his Sanctuary. This, immediately brings to mind the God descending from heaven on his Sanctuary on the gold ring from Mycenae. This God, also known about

this time of the Bronze Age in Central and Northern Europe and believed to be descending from heaven in the form of lightning and rain, had as main symbol the hammer or the axe. This is, then the reason perhaps why on the gold ring from Mycenae a big axe is shown close to the sky-god; and why axes played an important part in the Creto-Mycenaean religion.

This God was believed in his early character to be not only the ruler of the sky, thus preserving the seasonal round, but also the giver of victory in time of danger and, above all, the founder of Order and Law. Maintaining order and law in the sky and on the earth seems to have been the special province of this god, and from this conception a number of legends seems to have sprung up. Of these legends the story of Prometheus is not only the best but, regardless of the time it may have been introduced to Greece, it seems to preserve some early elements of the Thundergod's cult:
Mount Caucasus picturing as the main domain of this God. The pillar and the bronze chain used for the hero's punishment. The twin figures Κράτος and Βία, protégés of this god, present in these surroundings. These twin figures remind of other semi-divine twins, children of the Thundergod mostly. We cite two examples: Modi et Magni, the twin sons of Thor, the Norse God and the Dioscuri Κάστωρ and Πολυδεύκης, worshipped as Twin Pillars in Laconia; which is not accidental.

The tradition of these semi-divine (not divine) twins whose names seem to reflect the might and splendour of their divine father, may go back to a time when kings were not only thought as Διογενεῖς but also had two hereditary branches, as Professor Marinatos pointed out regarding the royal house of Mycenae (on account of its twin grave circles) and the royal house of the Herakleidai at Sparta. This tradition being perhaps as early as the Middle Bronze Age culture, may be ascribed to the people responsible for the creation of this culture as well as for the creation of the subsequent one of the Late Bronze Age: the Mycenaean culture.

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1) Archaeol. Ephem., 1966, pp. 149-200.
2) Ibid, p. 177, fig. 28.
3) Ibid, p— 166, fig. 26.
4) a. AAA II (1969) p. 85, 1 (drawing by Th. Fanourakis).
   b. Archaeol. Ephem. 1906, pl. 14. E. Vermeule, Greece in the Bronze Age, fig. 32.
5) Cf. notes 1 - 4.
6) Sp. Marinatos — M. Hirmer, Kreta und das Mykenische Hellas, fig. 207.
7) Kretika Chronika 17, 1963 p. 339, fig. 27.
8) Rev. Archaeol. 1965, 2, p. 42, fig. 24. Archaeol. Ephem. 1966, p. 181 fig. 30.

LES PREMIERES VAGUES INDOEUROPEENNES EN GRECE ET DANS LES BALKANS

Prof. MILUTIN V. GARAŠANIN, BEOGRAD

Ce fut en 1960, dans un article destiné à faire date dans la préhistoire de l'Egée et du Sud-Est européen, que le professeur J. Caskey publia ses observations sur l'Helladique Ancien en Argolide[1]. Prenant pour point de départ ses observations stratigraphiques de Lerna, l'éminent savant américain constatait qu'une destruction catastrophique avait eu lieu sur ce site dès la fin de l' Helladique Ancien II (Lerna III). La période suivante, Lerna IV, correspondant à l'Helladique Ancien III, comporte dans son inventaire mobilier, bien qu'en quantité assez restreinte, une céramique identique tant par ses formes que par son exécution, à celle dite mynienne. La transition vers l'étape Lerna V (Helladique Moyen), semble s'être effectuée sans interruption, exception faite des différences pouvant être constatées dans les rites funéraires. Une révision minutieuse des données stratigraphiques fournie par les recherches dans d'autres sites, notamment à Tirinthe, Zygouries, Asine et avant tout à Hagios Kosmas en Attique, aboutit à des observations analogues. Par contre, à Korakou et à Eutresis il a été possible de constater l'existence d'une destruction par incendie à la fin de l'Helladique Ancien III. Caskey en concluait donc à l'existence de deux vagues successives d'envahisseurs en Grèce. Il est naturel d'admettre qu' il s'agisse de deux vagues différentes d' Indoeuropéens, sans insister sur leur déterminaison ethnique plus précise (Louvites, Grecs[2].?)

Ces conclusions concordent en leur ensemble avec l'opinion de la plupart des archéologues au sujet des vagues successives d'envahisseurs indoeuropéens, venus de la zone des steppes vers le Bas-Danube et vers les Balkans, et que nous avons résumée comme suit: « . . . Il ne peut être question que de nombreuses vagues successives, que nous ne sommes même pas toujours en mesure de saisir dans leurs détails. C'est donc là un processus de longue haleine, dirais-je même incohérent au sens que les poussées successives n'advinrent assurément pas à la chaîne, se suivant immédiatement l'une l'autre. Tout au contraire il est nécessaire de songer à des mouvements nettement indépendants et d'intensité différente qui même n'atteignirent pas tous et toujours dans leur ensemble les mêmes régions. Il s'ensuit donc ce tableau assez désordonné à première vue, que nous pouvons nous faire des mouvements des peuplades des steppes[3]. Des points de vue plus ou moins semblables ont été émis également par d'autres auteurs, tels N. J. Merpert et M. Gimbutas[4]. Il s'accordent du reste avec les possibilités d'interprétation proposées par nombre de linguistes[5].

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1. J. Caskey, Hesperia XXX, 1960, 285 et suiv.

2. G. Mylonas. The Luvian invasion in Greece. Hesperia XXXI, 1962, 284 et suiv. Cf. aussi R. A. Crossland, Immigrants from the North, Cambridge Ancient History I, Chapt. XXVII, 1 1967. 1 et suiv.

3. M. Garašanin, Nomades des steppes et autochtones dans le Sud-est européen à l'époque de transition du néolithique à l'âge du bronze. Symposium International sur l'Ethnogenèse des Peuples Balkaniques Plovdid 1969, 9 et suiv.

4. N. J. Merpert in l'Europe à la fin de l'âge de la pierre 1959 (1961) 161 et suiv.; M. Gimbutas, Prehistory of Eastern Europe, 1956, 79 et suiv.

5. Crossland, op. cit. 30 et suiv. ; 47 et suiv.

Nous nous proposons dans ses lignes de confronter les observations faites en Argolide, avec ce que nous pouvons constater sur les mouvements de peuplades en rapport avec les invasions indoeuropéennes dans les régions situées plus au nord, tant en Grèce que dans l'intérieur de la Péninsule Balkanique. Bien entendu, ces considérations sont loin de pouvoir être complètes, étant donné l'état assez inégal de nos connaissances dans différentes régions.

Tournons nous d'abord vers la Thessalie. Il est possible de constater ici vers la fin du néolithique et à l'époque de transition vers l'âge des métaux, l'existence d'éléments de civilisation nouveaux et étrangers, représentés par le groupe de Rakhmani[6]. Par sa céramique peinte en «crusted», ainsi que par certaines formes de vases, notamment les plats à bord en forme de bourrelet,[7] le groupe en question se rattache étroitement à certaines manifestations typiques de la civilisation de cette époque dans l'intérieur de la Péninsule, particulièrement au groupe de Bubanj-Hum, en Serbie, et de Salcutza en Olténie. Les idoles du type «Thessalien» caractéristiques de Rakhmani sont toutefois inconnues dans les groupes en question. Cette étape est suivie en Thessalie de la civilisation du bronze ancien, nettement différente. Dans sa première étape celle-ci connait, probablement comme importation, des fragments de vase à ornement cordé, ainsi que des vases à une anse, qui à une étape plus évoluée (Thessalien Ancien II), peuvent être rapprochés de la céramique du groupe de Baden[8]. Dans la phase finale de cette civilisation (Thessalien Ancien III) apparaissent aussi des vases grossiers, souvent du type à deux anses[9]. Cette dernière étape se termine par une catastrophe, dont les traces, couches d'incendie intenses, sont bien saisissables, notamment à Argissa[10]. Elle est suivie de la civilisation Thessalienne Moyenne, qui ne retient que peu d'éléments typiques du Thessalien Ancien[11]. Il est donc possible de constater ici une première poussée d'éléments étrangers, rattachée au groupe de Bubanj-Hum (I) et de Salcutza, ainsi que deux vagues successives, certaines nettement différentes et bien stratifiées, l'une à la fin du Thessalien Ancien et la seconde au début du bronze moyen de ces régions[12].

Une situation plus ou moins analogue peut être observée au moins dans une partie de la Macédoine, plus exactement en Pélagonie. Malgré certaines lacunes dans nos connaissances du néolithique de cette région,[13] il est inconstetable qu'ici aussi nous trouvons en présence, à la fin du néolithique, d'éléments étrangers étroitement rattachés au groupe de Bubanj-Hum (phase I) et de Salcutza. Nous trouvons ces éléments dans les sites de Bakarno Gumno près de Prilep, de Supljevac et de Crnobuki près de Bitolj[14]. Les formes de vases, surtout les écuelles à bord incurvé, les plats à bord en forme de bourrelet et les vases à deux anses sont identiques à celles du groupe de Bubanj-Hum.[15]

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6. Wace-Thompson, Prehistoric Thessaly, 1912, 17 et suiv., Pl. IV, 1-4 V-VI

7. Cf. Chr. Tsuntas, Proistorikai Akropoleis Diminiou kai Sesklou, 1908, 247 et suiv., fig. 147, 149, 150.

8. Cf. V. Milojčić, Jahrbuch des Römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums 6, 1959, 26 et suiv., fig. 21, 11-13; Archäologischer Anzeiger 1956, 147 et suiv., fig. 12.

9. Milojčić, Jahrbuch-Mainz 6, 28, fig. 23, 7

10. Ibid. 26-27.

11. Ibid. 28 et suiv.

12. Ibid. 26 et suiv.

13. M. Garašanin, Neolithikum und Bronzezeit in Serbien und Makedonien, 39 Bericht der Römisch, -germanischen Kommission 1958, 114 et suiv.; Idem, Glasnik na institutot na nacionalna istorija XII, 1968, 156 et suiv. Observations nouvelles chez H. Hauptmann, Istanbuler Mitteilungen 17, 1967, 1 et suiv. surtout 18-19.

14. Ibid 13 et suiv., fig. 5 6. Pour Crnobuki M. Garašanin, Neolithikum und Bronzezeit 118 et suiv Pl. 25, 1-5.

15. Hauptmann, op. cit., fig. 5, 3-8; 6, 1-4.

Il en est de même de l'ornementation cannelée et peinte en «crusted», ainsi que de la céramique peinte au graphite de Supljevac et de Bakarno Gumno. L'ornementation peinte en blanc que nous connaissons de ces sites, ainsi que de Crnobuki[16], n'est en fait qu'une contrepartie de la céramique au graphite: les ornements sont sensiblement les mêmes, et l'effet obtenu est pratiquement identique. Ce n'est que par sa plastique que ce groupe, que nous pouvons désigner du nom de Crnobuki-Supljevac, se distingue nettement des groupes de Bubanj-Hum et de Salcutza. Outre des idoles de type Thessalien, nous y rencontrons aussi des figurines assises très stylisées, dont les analogies se retrouvent dans le groupe Cernavoda I de Roumanie[17]. Cette civilisation est suivie en Pélagonie par le groupe d'Armenochori, représenté, outre le site éponyme, dans les habitats de Crnobuki, Kravari et Baresani[18]. Ce groupe est caractérisé par une céramique nettement plus primitive, des vases typiques à deux anses et une ornementation très grossière, composée surtout de bandes en relief, ornées d'alvéoles ou d'encoches. Dans son ensemble cette céramique s'apparente étroitement à celle du groupe de Bubanj-Hum III en Serbie, dans la vallée de la Morava[19]. Le phénomène est donc semblable à celui que nous avions pu observer en Thessalie: arrivée d'éléments nouveaux apparentés à ceux de la zone centrale des Balkans, suivie d'une vague plus récente, apportant une céramique absolument nouvelle. Bien entendu, ce tableau semble être encore assez incomplet. Le rapport chronologique exact des groupes Crnobuki-Supljevac et d'Armenochori n'est pas absolument élucidé. Le groupe de Crnobuki-Supljevac semble couvrir une période de temps assez longue, d'après les observations stratigraphiques faites à Bekarno Gumno. Nous ne savons toutefois pas s'il y eut en Pélagonie d'autres vagues d'immigration précédant l'arrivée des porteurs du groupe d'Armenochori. L'ordre chronologique constaté à Bubanj, où entre les phases de Bubanj-Hum I et III s'intercalle une étape de transition, Bubanj-Hum II, semblerait venir à l'appui de cette thèse. La situation chronologique du sceptre en pierre de Supljevac (Suvodol), reste encore insuffisamment élucidée[20]. Il ne serait pas impossible du reste, que cet objet doive être interprété comme une importation. Sa situation isolée en Pélagonie ne permet pas de le considérer comme preuve d'une vague d'envahisseurs venus du Bas Danube.

L'interprétation historique et ethnique des faits que nous venons d'observer peut être fournie par une confrontation plus précise avec les observations faites dans la vallée de la Morava et sur le Bas-Danube. La voie suivie par les porteurs des éléments Crnobuki-Supljevac, est certes celle de la Morava et du Vardar. Le fait est prouvé par l'existence de restes du groupe de Bubanj-Hum I à Gradac près de Leskovac et dans la forteresse de Skopje[21]. Cette poussée d'éléments, dont les origines doivent assurément être recherchés dans le groupe de Salcutza en Olténie, s'explique par les observations nouvelles des chercheurs roumains sur le complexe de Cernavoda, composé en fait de plusieurs groupes de civilisation différente[22]. Il est certain que le groupe de Cernavoda I, caractérisée par sa céramique à pâte assez grossière, employant comme dégraissant des

16. Ibid., fig. 5, 1-2, 4; M. Garašanin, op. cit., Pl. 25, 3,5.

17. Ibid., Pl. 25, 1-2; Hauptmann, op. cit., fig. 6,7-10 (uniquement idoles thessaliennes).

18. M. Garasanin, Glasnik na institutot na nacionalna istorija XII, 161; W. A. Heurtley, Prehistoric Macedonia, 1939, 85 et suiv. fig. No. 314-367

19. M. Garašanin, Neolithikum und Bronzezeit, 64-66, Pl. 13, 2-4; 14 2.

20. M. Garašanin, Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja-Sarajevo, N. S. XV-XVI, 1961, 15 et suiv., fig. 1; cf. aussi V. Dumitrescu Studii si cercetari de istorie veche XIII, 1962, 95 et suiv., D. Berciu, Dacia N. S. VI, 1962, 397 et suiv.

21. B. Stalio, Zbornik radova Narodnog muzeja-Beograd, 69 et suiv., Pl. I; P. Gockova-Slavska, Ostatoci na edna praistoriska kultura na skopskata tvrdina Kale, 1955.

22. S. Morintz-P. Roman, Dacia N. S. XII, 1968, 45 et suiv.

fragments de coquillage, par son ornementation en alvéole ou à encoche, et par l'existence d'idoles proches de celles de Crnobuki-Supljevac, a fait pression au cours de son déplacement vers l'Ouest sur les porteurs du groupe de Salcutza. C'est de ce fait que furent déclenchés les mouvements de groupes humains de cette dernière civilisation, vers la vallée de la Morava, vers la Pélagonie et jusqu'en Thessalie[23]. Il semble certain également que les porteurs des différents groupes du complexe Cernavoda, doivent être considérés comme des populations d'origine indoeuropéenne, ou tout au moins des éléments mixtes, mêlés en partie aux indigènes. La poussée Bubanj-Hum, Crnobuki-Supljevac Rakhmani, poussée d'éléments autochtones préindoeuropéens d'Olténie, est donc dûe à la pression effectuée sur les autochtones par des Indoeuropéens se propageant dans les régions du Bas-Danube. La période correspondant à Bubanj-Hum II en Serbie est celle de la phase de transition Oltenitza-Renie sur le Danube[24]. Finalement le groupe Cernavoda III (Celei), avec ses ornements de bandes en relief, disposées de différentes façons et en plusieurs rangs sur la partie extérieure des vases, se rattache étroitement à Bubanj-Hum III, ainsi qu'au groupe de Dipsis-Ezero en Thrace[25], et au groupe d'Armenochori en Pélagonie.

Les faits en question pourraient donc s'expliquer de la manière suivante: Une première poussée étrangère, d'éléments balkano-danubiens vers le sud, a été déclenchée par la pression indoeuropéenne. Plus tard cette pression mena certes aussi à certaines fusions d'éléments différents (Bubanj-Hum II), dans la région de la Morava. Enfin certains de ces éléments indoeuropéens nouveaux se mirent en marche, eux-aussi vers le Sud de la Péninsule et vers l'Egée, en apportant une civilisation nouvelle, dont nous retrouvons les traces sous forme de groupes plus ou moins locaux mais apparentés, tels ceux de Bubanj-Hum III, Dipsis-Ezero, Armenochori, et de la fin du Thessalien Ancien.

Les cadres chronologiques de ces mouvements semblent pouvoir être déterminés avec assez de précision. Il est digne d'attention que les groupes de Crnobuki-Supljevac et de Rakhmani ne connaissent pas d'éléments du type de Baden, fixés stratigraphiquement à Bubanj dans la phase Bubanj-Hum Ib. Les mouvements en question ont donc dû commencer à l'époque de Bubanj-Hum Ia.[26] D'autre part des éléments du type de Baden (vases à une anse) ont été identifiés vers la phase moyenne du Thessalien Ancien et surtout à la dernière étape du site de Hagios Kosmas, soit à la phase finale de l'Helladique Ancien II.[27] Sans vouloir nous attarder sur la question de l'apparition de ces éléments dûs peut-être à une vague nouvelle d'envahisseurs,[28] nous pouvons préciser que la fin de l'Helladique Ancien II représente assurément un terminus ante quem pour les premières poussées non-indoeuropéennes vers le sud, et la poussée, indoeuropéenne celle-ci, du du groupe Cernavoda I remontant le Bas-Danube. Les poussées indoeuropéennes de Dipsis-Ezero, Armenochori et Bubanj-Hum III doivent donc être sensiblement plus récentes. En tenant compte de l'existence déjà mentionnée des phases Bubanj-Hum Ib-II, il nous semblerait vraisemblable de rattacher ces poussées à la destruction de la civili-

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23. Ibid., 119 et suiv.; même point de vue émis par M. Garašanin, op. cit., 159 et suiv.

24. Morintz-Roman, op. cit., 77 et suiv., fig. 24-26.

25. N. J. Merpert-G, Il. Georgijev, Izvestia na blgarski Arh. inst. XXVIII, 1965, 128 et suiv. surtout, fig. 20. 21 (Dipsis-Ezero); Morintz-Roman, op. cit., 81 et suiv., fig. 27-39 (Cernavoda III).

26. M. Garašanin, Neolithikum und Bronzezeit, 57 et suiv. (éléments Baden-Kostolac)

27. G. Mylonas, Hagios Kosmas, 1959, 122, fig. 142, No. 170-172; 143, No. 156, 158, 179; 147, No. 203, 149, No. 213; 151, No. 221-225; 152, No. 234-235; 153, No. 240-241; 154 No. 246; 155, No. 252 et 254; 156. No. 256. Ibid. fig. 57 (type C 13); cf. M. Garašanin, Rad. vojvodjanskih muzeja 9, 1960 197 et suiv.

28. Ceci expliquerait peut-être en partie les destructions à la fin de l'Helladique Ancien II. Le problème de l'élément mynien resterait néanmoins irrésolu.

sation du bronze ancien en Grèce, ce qui correspondrait à peu près aux observations faites à Argissa en Thessalie.

Certaines difficultés s'élèvent toutefois dans les synchronismes proposés par plusieurs auteurs par rapport à la civilisation troadique. Un synchronisme assuré semble pouvoir être admis entre Lerna IV (Helladique Ancien III) et Troie I V.[29] Il s'en suivrait donc que les groupes de Cernavoda III, Dipsis-Ezero en Thrace et de ce fait aussi Bubanj-Hum III ne pourraient aucunement être contemporains du Troadique I comme l'admettent certains auteurs.[30] Notons du reste que les preuves apportées à l'appui du parallélisme de Dipsis-Ezero VI et V avec toute l'évolution troadique, ne nous semblent pas être concluantes à ce sujet. Entre autres, l'apparition de la céramique cordée à Dipsis, ne peut certes se rattacher à Cernavoda I, où cet élément est particulièrement typique dans le cadre du groupe de Cernavoda.[31] Il s'en suit donc que la céramique cordée doit être considérée en son ensemble comme type céramique peu sensible du point de vue chronologique, ce qui rend difficile son application comme élément de chronologie relative.

Une autre question que nous ne pouvons élucider actuellement dans son ensemble est celle de l'apparition de la céramique mynienne dans l'Helladique Ancien III. Elle est dûe certes à un mouvement d'immigration comme le démontrait Caskey, mouvement qui, comme nous venons de le voir, semble être quelque peu plus ancien qu' Armenochori, la fin du Thessalien Ancien, ainsi que les groupes correspondants de la Thrace et de la vallée de la Morava. Nous ne retrouvons pas ici toutefois des éléments pouvant être rattachés au mynien. Il s'agirait donc probablement d'une vague qui, ne pourrait être identifié à celles de Macédoine et de Thessalie, et devrait probablement provenir d'une région différente. La question est loin de pouvoir être absolument résolue dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances. Nous devons donc en rester pour le moment aux hypothèses plus ou moins vraisemblables telles que celles émises par J. Mellaart.[32] Notons toutefois l'existence dans le cadre du groupe de Bubanj-Hum II de ces éléments pseudomyniens qui par leur forme rappellent avant tout la céramique mynienne. Ils se rapprochent également dans l'exécution, de la céramique mynienne de qualité médiocre, faite à la main.[33] Du point de vue chronologique il ne paraît pas exclu de chercher ici certains rapports, la phase Bubanj Hum II, suivant l'étape Bubanj-Hum Ib, devant être postérieure à la destruction de l'habitat d'Hagios Kosmas. C'est peut-être dans ce sens que les recherches à venir dans la Péninsule Balkanique contribueront à la solution de ce problème. Comme nous pouvions le montrer toutefois, il est possible dès aujourd'hui de suivre et d'expliquer dans leurs grandes lignes du moins certains des premiers mouvements indoeuropéens vers les Balkans, l'Egée et la Grèce.

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29. Caskey, op. cit. 297.

30. Morintz-Roman, op. cit., 127. N. J. Merpert, Zbornik narodniho muzeja v Praze, 1966, 109 et suiv. ; Idem, Acte du I Congrès des études balkaniques et du sud-est européen, 1969, 2535 et suiv. surtout 252-253.

31. Morintz-Roman, op. cit. 48 et suiv.

32. J. Mellaart, Anatolia c. 4000-2300; Cambridge Ancient History I, Chapt. XVIII, 1965. 46 et suiv.

33. M. Garašanin, Neolithikum und Bronzezeit. 63 et n. 348; Pl. 11, 4; 12, 1.

CAVERNES ET TOPONYMES TEMOINS EN CRETE DES GRANDES MIGRATIONS

Prof. PAUL FAURE

L'île de Crète, où l'on a dénombré jusqu'à ce jour 3200 cavernes, a toujours été célèbre par ce que les Anciens appelaient τὸ κρησφύγετον le refuge de Crétois par excellence, la caverne où les populations se réfugiaient et se cachaient lors des grandes invasions. Le débarquement Allemand de Mai 1941 et 3 années d'occupation, en rendant aux cavernes crétoises une de leurs fonctions primitives, ont appris aux archéologues à les distinguer des autres types de cavernes: bien dissimulées dans la montagne, d'entrée généralement invisible, contenant de l'eau et un volume d' air suffisant, elles ne ressemblent ni aux cavernes d'habitation permanente, ni aux cavernes de culte, ni aux cavernes funéraires ni aux bergeries, ni aux abris de ruches, etc.

Les groupes humains plus ou moins importants qui se sont dissimulés au cours de l'histoire dans les cavernes de refuge crétoises y ont laissé leurs vases sous les stalactites ou près des flaques d'eau, leur humus, les débris de leur nourriture et les cendres de leurs foyers. Quand on peut faire une coupe ou un sondage dans le sol de ces cavernes, on constate que les poteries découvertes appartiennent à 9 époques distinctes: le néolithique récent, le Minoen Ancien I et II, le Minoen Récent IIIb, le subminoen, la fin de l'époque hellénistique (apparition des armées romaines) la fin de la première époque byzantine (VIIe Siècle et début du VIIIe Siècle après J. C.) le Moyen-Age vénitien (XIIIe Siècle surtout après J. C.) les révolutions du XIXe Siècle, la Guerre de 1941-1944.

Ces dépôts de vaisselle correspondent à des périodes d'insécurité et d' invasions. Nous avons montré, dans les Ἀρχαιολογικὰ Ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν (AAA, II, P, 213-216) publiés par les soins de Mr. le Prof. Sp. Marinatos en 1969, que nous avons pu récupérer 44 cavernes de refuge dans le seul département de la Canée avec des series de vases bien distinctes. Nous avons dressé dans un ouvrage intitulé «Fonctions des Cavernes Crétoises» (Paris 1964) et dans plusieurs articles du «Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique» (Athènes 1965, 1967, 1969) un trop bref catalogue d'une trentaine de cavernes de refuge pour le reste de la Crète, souvent désignées de noms expressifs de Κατωφύγι, Κέραμος ou Λατσίδα.

Or, dans la première liste, 23 cavernes sur 44 et, dans la seconde liste, 18 cavernes[1] sur 30 contiennent une abondante poterie, des ossements et des débris du Minoen Ancien. D'autre part, jamais les enterrements dans les cavernes crétoises spécialement réservées à des usages funéraires n'ont été aussi nombreux qu'à la fin du IIIe millénaire avant J. C. Parmi les 90 nécropoles rupestres fouillées ou explorées par les archéologues en Crète, le tiers, une sur trois, datent du subnéolithique et du début de l'âge du bronze: certainement on a cherché a préserver les morts ici comme on cherchait à cacher les vivants là.

Cette double occupation des cavernes crétoises, soit comme refuges, soit comme lieux de sépulture, vers 2500 avant J. C., a été la conséquence directe de l'arrivée de vagues d'envahisseurs en Grèce, soit qu'ils aient refoulé vers le sud les populations du continent et des îles, soit même qu'ils soient parvenus, eux-mêmes, jusqu'en Crète avec leurs outils et leurs armes de métal. L'invasion de ces nouveaux venus, porteurs de techniques supérieures, par exemple l'art de fabriquer des scies et des épées, a été aussi terrifiante que celle des «peuples de la mer» à la fin du XIIIe Siècle avant J. C.

Si nous considérons les toponymes en-nthos comme proto-indo-européens, c'est parce que ce type de terminaison correspond à la terminaison -vanda («pourvu de») du lycien et du carien, avec l'aspiration propre au domaine pélasgique ou plutôt égéen, dans lequel les occlusives sourdes de l'indo-européen deviennent des aspirées (ex: κόος, χάος). Ces toponymes sont très communs dans la péninsule hellénique (ex. : Olynthos, Zakynthos, Korinthos), les îles de la mer Egée (ex.: Kerinthos, Kynthos, Prépesinthos) et sur les rives de la Propontide (ex.: Apsinthioi, Smintheion, Perinthos, Bisanthé). Or, nous connaissons en Crète, par les auteurs antiques, par les chartes du Moyen-Age, par les cartes géographiques, au moins 17 toponymes et anthroponymes terminés de la même façon ou, d'une façon simplifiée, en -ιθος, -αθος, -υθος-, étant donné que l'antique ἐρέβινθος (le pois chiche), par exemple, est devenu en dialecte moderne «ρεβίθι, πύρανθος πυράθι, etc.— Ce sont: -'Αγκάραθος, qui désigne un monastère dans la Pedias, connu dès 1271, et différents lieux dits de la Pedias, du Temenos, de L'Apokorona, du Kissamos. En Crète «ἡ ἀγκαραθέα» désigne une sorte de chardon, «phlomis fructicosa vel laniata. On rapproche de ce mot ἀκαλανθὶς et ἀκανθίς qui désignent le chardonneret. 'Αγκάραθ(ι)ες désigne des lieux rocheux couverts d'épines dans l'Apokorona. Un village disparu du Temenos est mentionné en 1577 sous la forme Agalates et en 1630 sous la forme Anghalathes.

-Βερέκυνθος montagne près d'Aptara (Diodore de Sicile, V, 64). Il s'agit du nom préhistorique des λευκὰ Ὄρη, les actuels ἄσπρα βουνά, et, comme eux, il signifie «mont blanc». On connait en effet l'oronyme Κύνθος à Délos et ses composés ἀράκυνθος en Etolie, en Béotie et en Attique, Ζάκυνθος à Zante et à Paros, et l'on en rapproche le sanskrit kutam, «pointe, sommet, haut du crâne». Quant à l'initiale de Βερέκυνθος, elle se rattache à la racine «bhel», être blanc»: cf. vieux slave velu, «blanc», grec φαλὸς «blanc», etc. . .

-Βρί(ν)θα (1332 sqq) ou 'Αβρί(ν)θα (1271), ancien village situé près de Kastelli (Malevyziou). On peut rapprocher les mots βρένθη (toponyme d'Arcadie, βρένδον «tête de cerf» selon Strabon (cf. le Suédois brinde, «le cerf»), Βρεντήσιον (actuelle Brindisi), ville fondée par les Crétois, Brinta, rivière, Blanda, oppidum de Crète selon Varron.

— Ζάκαθος, village de l'éparchie de Sitia, avec des ruines du Minoen Ancien. On en rapproche la Ζάκανθα antique.

— Ζόμιθος ou Ζώμιθος, source et montagne du massif de l'Ida. La finale-μίνθος- fait penser à -ἀσάμινθος- «la baignoire». L'initiale évoque tous les toponymes crétois en zo, zou ou sou qui, bien avant l'arrivée des Turcs dans l'île, désignaient une source.

— Κολόκυνθος, mont (818m). à Askous (Pediados) -Κολοκύθα, massif montagneux à l'est de Stavrakia (Malevyziou); Κολοκυθιά, îlot dans la baie d'Agios Nikolaos (Mirabellou); Κολοκυθιὰς, mont (1800 m.) au sud de la Mavri à Agios Ioannis (Sfakion); Κυθιὰ mont (900 m) à Anatoli (Hierapetras): composés, dérivés et mots reformés sur le pélasgique κύνθος, «la montagne».

— Λαβύρινθος, célèbre ensemble de galeries souterraines, servant au culte d'Ariadne et du dieu au masque de taureau (le Minotaure) près de Knossos, très vraisemblablement la caverne de culte fouillée à Skotino (Pediados). On connaît encore sous ce nom une carrière souterraine à Ampelouzos (Kainouriou) depuis le début du cinquième siècle de notre ère. Le diminutif λαβρυνθάκι désigne encore actuellement une caverne à Moroni (Kainouriou). On en rapproche avec raison les mots λαύρα, «le corridor, la rigole», λαύρειον, «la mine» (nom commun dans la toponymie de la Crète Occidentale), λαβίριον, «le terrier», λάβιρος, βόθυνος, «le trou creusé dans le sol » (Hesykhios).

— Λάπαθο, petit plateau à l'ouest de Khristos (Hierapetras). Le folklore crétois en fait la demeure du géant mythique Sarandapikhos dont la légende est, en partie, celle de l'antique Talôs.

— Λάπιθος, village de l'arrondissement de Sitias, connu des plus anciennes listes du XVIe Siècle.

— Λασίθι (= λασσίνθιον), vaste polje de la Crète Orientale, connu sous la forme Lassithi dès 1212 et peut-être sous la forme ra-su-to dans les tablettes mycéniennes. Pour le radical on peut comparer le grec λάκκος, le latin lacus. Langue à Satam?

— Μίθοι, στοὺς Μίθους, village (Hierapetras). Cf. l'antique nom σμίνθος «le rat» et le sanctuaire d'Apollon Σμινθεὺς au Σμίνθειου.

— Πλίθοι ou Πλίθι, village disparu du Temenos, mentionné entre 1237 et 1302. Cf. πλίνθος, πλινθίον, «la brique».

— Πύρανθος, cité antique, actuel village de Πυράθι (Monofatsiou).

— Ραδάμανθυς, roi légendaire de Phaistos, parfois considéré comme fils de Phaistos et père de Gortys.

— Σάβιθὸ (χώρι), village disparu du Monofatsiou; mentionné sous la forme Saviti sur la carte de Boschini en 1651.

— Σύρινθος, ville antique, située probablement près de Makrigialos, Sitias.

— Ὑάκινθος, divinité recevant un culte à Tylissos, Lato et Malla et, chaque fois, sur un sommet de montagne. Le nom se retrouve en Eubée et dans la région de Sparte; on connaît une tribu Hyakinthis à Andros, Byzance, Kalymna, Cnide, Cos, Rhodes et Thèra.

Parmi ces noms[1], un est particulièrement instructif. C'est λαβύρινθος. Il désigne un ensemble de galeries de caractère sacré et il correspond à un phènomène religieux spécifique, le culte des cavernes. Celui-ci débute en Crète à la fin du Minoen Ancien, à Psykhro, Kamarès et Skotino, apparemment apporté par des populations nouvelles, véhiculant avec elles les noms en -νθος, vers 2100 avant J. C. Ce culte a fini par se répandre dans une trentaine de cavernes crétoises. On a l'impression que si les populations anciennes de Crète utilisaient largement les cavernes de refuge et établissaient leurs villages sur des sommets (ex. Fournou Korfi près de Myrto et Dhembla près de Varypretro au MA I et II), les nouveaux venus répandaient deux formes de culte, celui des cavernes et celui des montagnes sacrées. Car c'est aussi vers la fin du troisième millénaire avant J. C. que commencent à se développer les sanctuaires de sommet, sur une quarantaine de montagnes sacrées, la moitié dans la région de Sitia, les autres situées dans tout le reste de l'île, les plus occidentales étant le mont Sklokas dans l'Akrotiri voisin de la Canée (Kydonias), le mont Onykhas dans la péninsule du Rodopou, le mont du Prophète Elie à Lousakies, entre Phalasarna et Polyrrhénia. Parmi les noms antiques des montagnes sacrées, quatre attirent particulièrement l'attention en Crète: Βερέκυνθος, «la Montagne Blanche», Δίκτη, «le Mont Sacré» (div-ikté-:cf grec δχθη), Ἴδα, «la Montagne boisée», Ἱπποκορώνειον, «la hauteur du cheval», que les Vénitiens entendaient nommer Apo-ou-Api-corno par les Crétois, dans l'actuel arrondissement d'Apokorona. Or, ces quatre noms sont les mêmes exactement que nous retrouvons en Troade et en Mysie, avec les mêmes valeurs sacrées. Ils y sont accompagnés d'au moins 17 autres toponymes qui ont tous leurs correspondants en Crète: Ἄσσος, Βρένθις (en Crète, Βρί(ν)θα, village; Blanda «oppidum»), Γάργαρα, Γάργαρος, Γεργαρίς, Γεργίς, Gergitha (en Crète, Γέργερη Γκίγκιλος, Κέρκελος), Θήβη, Ἴμβρος, Κάνα ὄρος, (en Crète, Κανάβαρος, mont près de Milato), λάρισα, λῆθος, (roi des Pélasges de Larissa; en Crète, ληθαῖος, est la rivière de Larissa), Ὄλυμπος, (en Crète, le fils de Κρὴς et l'éducateur de Zeus), Πέργαμος, Σαμώνιον, Σμίνθειον, (en Crète, στοὺς Μίθους, village), Ὕρτακος (roi d'Arisbè, selon l'Iliade, B. 838, mais en Crète Ὑρταῖοι, Ὕρτακος, et Ὑρτακῖνος, sont des noms de cités). A cette liste il faut peut-être ajouter deux noms encore: Ἰασίων, frère de Dardanos de Samothrace, fondateur de Dardanos de Troade, mais aussi Daktyle de Crète et époux de Démèter; Φαῖστος, fils de Boros, venu de Tarna

en Méonie (Iliade, E. 43), mais aussi héros et ville de Crète. Et les Dactyles, et la déesse du Bérécynthe.

Comme l'installation des immigrants dans la Grèce du Nord et en Mysie a précédé leur expansion dans les îles du Sud, l'arrivée des Indo-Européens en Chalcidique, en Chersonnèse de Thrace et en Troade, avec les toponymes Assos, Dikté, Ida, Pergamos, etc., et avec les mots terminés en -nthos, est sans doute voisine du milieu du IIIe millénaire avant J. C., c'est-à-dire de Troie III, Larissa, Ciftlik Tepe, Palaiskepsis, etc.

Concluons: L'étude des cavernes et des toponymes crétois nous permet de constater l'arrivée en Crète de nouvelles populations avec de nouvelles techniques (le cuivre, la scie métallique, la poterie striée puis flammée, les fours à haute température, des armes originales) avec de nouvelles formes de religion (le culte des cavernes et le culte des sommets de montagne, les divinités à la double hache) avec de nouveaux toponymes (par exemple, λαβύρινθος, Βερέκυνθος, λάρισα, Πέργαμος). Elles sont parvenues au Sud de la mer Egée en plusieurs vagues, l'une au Minoen Ancien I, vers 2500 avant J. C., l'autre à la fin du Minoen Ancien II, vers 2300-2200 avant J. C. Comme les Indo-Européens ont un terme commun pour désigner le cuivre et comme un bon nombre de ces toponymes ont leur correspondant dans le monde indo-européen, il semble légitime de considérer ces nouveaux venus en Crète comme des proto-indo-européens.

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1. Ce sont: Κέραμος ou Λατσίδα à Khamaitoulo (Sitias); τοῦ Κάτη ὁ τράχιλας ἢ 'Αγριλιὰ à 8 km à l'Est de Ziros (Sitias), Κατσιμπουρδοῦ à Ano Zakro (Sitias); Περιστερᾶς à Karydi (Sitias); Κάτω Πλατυβόλου et Κατωφύγι à Katsidoni (Sitias); Μικρὸ Κατωφύλι à Agios Georgios (Sitias); Θεριόσπηλιος à Sitanos (Sitias); Σκάλες, à Praisos (Sitias); Βοῖβόδας, à Ziros (Sitias); τοῦ Βαρδογιάννη, à Kritsa (Mirabellou); Ἄνω Σουβλωτό, à Mythi (Hierapetras); Βίγλα, à Keratokampos (Viannou); τοῦ Μικροῦ Χαράκου, à Agia Paraskevi (Pediados); τοῦ Στραβομύτη, à Vathypetro (Temenous); 'Αμυγδαλιά, à Agios Kyrillos (Kainouriou); Χαϊνόσπηλιος, à Kamaraki (Malevyziou); Μαργιελὲς τρύπα, à Helenes (Amariou).

1. Il faut peut-être ajouter 3 autres noms Κάνιθος, source du massif de l'Ida d'après une information recueillie auprès de G. Dakanalis, ancien médecin d'Anogia (Mylop) par St. Spanakis, Ἡ Κρήτη Herakleion 1964, 190; Κόλεθρο, mont à l'Ouest de Myrto (Hierapetras) dérivé de Κόλενθον (cf. Κόρινθος?); Ροβύθι, cours d'eau à 2 kms à l'Ouest d' Hierapetra.

PREHELLENIC AND PROTOHELLENIC DISCOVERIES AT MARATHON*

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It is well known that the Early Helladic period in Greece appears more wealthy and socially better organized if compared to the Middle Helladic era, which entered about 2000-1900 B.C. The Early Helladic buildings appear well developed; megaron-like constructions appear in EH II. This type of buildings as well as the s.c. «tectonic» amphoras are indications, according to more than one scholars, that indiscutable Indogermanic elements existed already in EH Greece; and, about the end of that period (circa 2000 B.C., some of «Proto-hellenic» racial elements may already exist among the barbarian tribes of Greece.

Just about this period the EH cultures come to an abrupt end. They are succeeded by the MH period which shows peculiar and contrasting characteristics if compared with the EH wealth. The prosperous settlements or even little towns disappear. Everything becomes more close to what may be characterized as a peasant's life and a culture of farmers and herdsmen. The habitations show poverty, the little cist-graves also. The settlements are not dense any more so that population decrease is obvious[1].

In my paper, read during the First Mycenology congress, I have developed the opinion that about 1700-1600 B.C. the first Greeks who made History entered the Greek soil. They were not numerous groups of professional warriors, perhaps a few hundreds every time. But they brought with them the revolutionary new war machine, the chariot. They possessed horses; they were armed with long body-shields, long spears and long swords. They were, moreover, renowned bowmen. They fought against and they could hunt stags, deer and other game shooting their bows straight from their running chariots.

Such people were appearing in Greece for the first time. They inspired holy terror among the labourers and herdsmen. They settled here and there; they subdued the peasantry and the herdsmen. They erected their strongholds. Thus began Greek History and thus were created the oldest royal families, which appeared later as a most remote past even among the traditions of Greek Mythology.

Perhaps there is no archaeological fact more manifest of these cultural and historical phenomena than the appearance of burial earth tumuli in Greece. Under the name kurgan they are well known from the plains of North-East Europe down to the Peloponnese. They appear quite particularly dense along the western coast of the Peloponn-

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* There are only preliminary reports about the investigations at Marathon, which are still going on. The main reports appeared in ATHENS ANNALS OF ARCHAEOLOGY, vol. II, p.p. 153 f., 349 f., in Acts of the Academy of Athens 45, (1970) p. 108 f. and in the PRACTICA OF THE ARCH. SOCIETY OF ATHENS, vol. of 1970 p. 5 - 28 with plates 1 - 39. The main papers concerning the subject on the first appearance of the Greeks which is connected, with the discoveries at Marathon, are published in the ATTI E MEMORIE DEL PRIMO CONGRESSO DI MICENOLOGIA (Incunabula Graeca XXV, 1 1968). The first paper is by Prof. F. Schachermeyr, Zum Problem der griechischen Einwanderung (p. 297 f.) and the second by the undersigned:, p. 277 f. and plates I.-VI.

1) See Schachermeyr l.c. p. 299, 300, 301-2. Also K. Syriopoulos, Prehistory of the Peloponnese (in Greek), p. 328.

nesian peninsula, where I myself have counted several dozens, and have excavated some of them. Others were investigated by other scholars. Quite prominent was the tumulus of Arene. Its diameter is about 50 m. and it contained burials from the Middle Helladic down to the Mycenaean period. There are several further tumuli, similar to the Marathon tumuli to be described below, but they cannot be treated here.[2]

Now we come to the Marathon discoveries: It must be observed right away that Marathon is glorious not only for the famous battle and for the Persian wars. It was also a most venerated place according to the mythological tradition. Just after Deucalion's Flood, Xouthos settled there and was married to a princess of the royal family of Attica, the daughter of Erechtheus. Some other notable Attic myths are connected with Marathon: The Bull of Minos reappears here and Athena in the Odyssey has her main abode equally at Marathon. (where she flies directly from Scheria), and upon the Acropolis of Athens.[3]

My recent investigation at Marathon brought to light several Early Helladic traces. The most prominent among them is a great necropolis at Tsepi, at the entrance of the Vrana-valley, at the north-west corner of the Marathon plain. It is mentioned here only briefly, in order to stress the importance of Marathon in Early Helladic times. Indeed, it is the most interesting burial ground of the Early Bronze Age so far. Dozens of cist-graves, arranged in parallel lines, made of great thin slabs and covered with large similar slabs, are already known. Each tomb contains many dead, sometimes more than one dozen in number. The burial gifts, however, are rather poor, but enough to indicate that we have to do with settlers who came over the Cycladic islands.

Much more interesting, however, is the discovery of four kurgans of the Middle Helladic and Mycenaean periods. They lie just on the western outskirts of the little hamlet of V r a n à, at the western extremity of the valley, about 2 km west of Tsepi.

The shape of all four tumuli is the same: A circular, shield-like rise of the soil filled with earth and encircled by a ring of stones. One of them (No 3) was of small dimensions and badly damaged. The last of them (No. 4) is also damaged but its eastern half is fairly well preserved. Its diameter must have been about 15-16 metres. Finally, the first two, and most interesting tombs (Nos. 1 and 2) lie one beside the other and look as twin brothers. They are almost exactly the same in dimension, their diameter being 17,5 metres.

The inner arrangement of the tumuli, however, is not identical. No. 1 (Fig. 1 and 2) shows a main tomb, spacious enough, which is already rather a shaft-grave than a pit-grave. It is surrounded by a special, smaller ring of stones, Then follow two large pit-graves; the one belonged «to the queen» (Fig. 3). It contained a single person, apparently a woman as it contained eleven MH vases and some spindle-whorls without any trace of weapons. The next large tomb (No. 3) contained a horse of the Przewalski species, the legs of which, however, are missing. The rest of the skeleton is excellently preserved (Fig. 4). Further six tombs are of minor interest. Among the latter, one is intrusive (No. 6) and belongs to the early 4th century of our era. Nothing was found in this tumulus which could be dated later than the MH period. It is apparently the oldest and most interesting of all.

Tumulus No. 2. as already stated, is a twin brother. It contains a single grave in the form of a megaron-house (Fig. 5). Though it had been thoroughly plundered the last it yielded enough material to allow us dating it to the 16th and 15th centuries. At least burials made in it must have been Mycenaean.

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2) See K. Syriopoulos, l.c. p. 343-4, 346, 479, and my own reports in PRACTICA of the Arch. Society (PAE) vol. of 1955 (p. 254) and the next volumes up to 1966 (p. 121 f.).

3) Odyssey VII, 80 and comp. M. NILSSON, M i n o a n - M y c e n a e a n R e l i g i o n, p. 488 f.

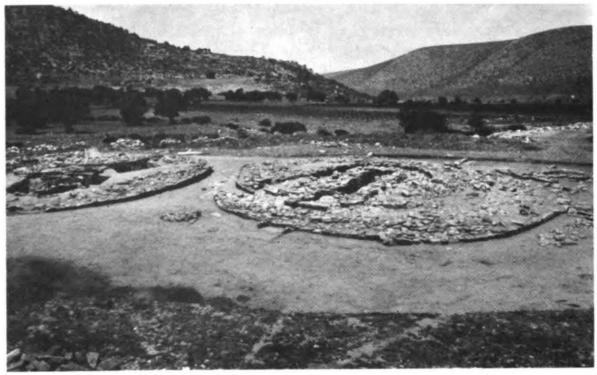
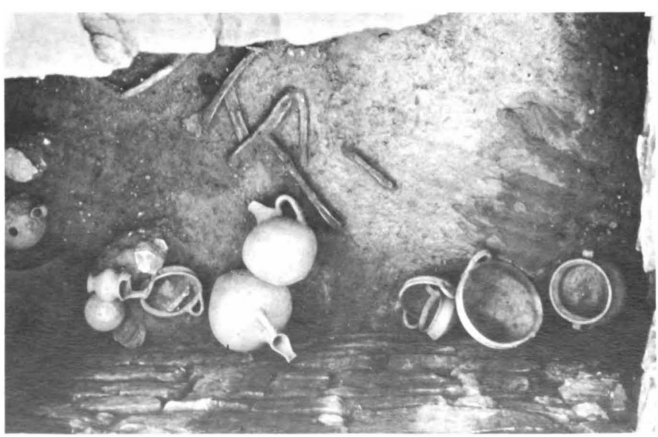


FIG. 1 Marathon, Tumuli I (left) and II

FIG. 2 Tumulus I. From the North East.



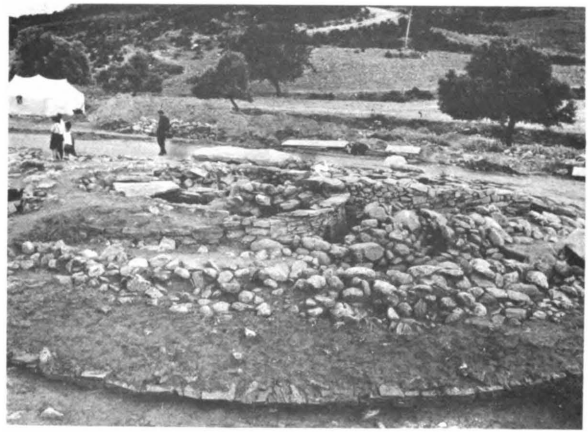


FIG 3 Tumulus I: The "Queen's,, pit grave.

FIG. 4 Tumulus I: The Horse's grave.

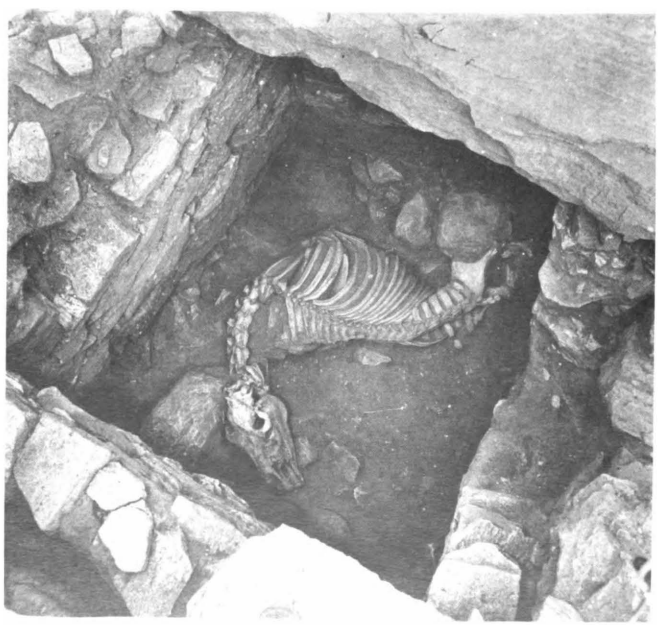


FIG. 5 Tumulus II : From the West
The House - line tomb

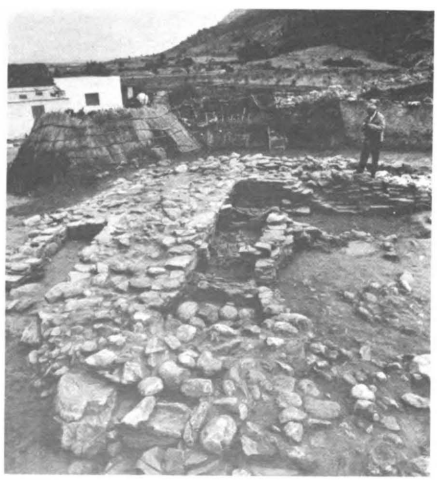


FIG. 6 Tumulus IV :
Eastern half from the North
Mycennean graves

FIG. 7 Marathon. The Tholos Tomb after a new cleaning and restoring

Tumulus No. 3 yielded only some sherds from which a little vase of the Middle Mycenaean period was reconstructed. Lastly, Tumulus No. 4 yielded many burials and several vases, which are all Mycenaean. The latest among them reach the limits of the late 14th century B.C. (Practica 1970 p. 18). (Fig. 6).

The significance of the facts briefly mentioned hereabove is clear. We have here a series of kurgans the first of which is purely MH in date and the others pass regularly into the Mycenaean period. About 1300 B.C. a tholos-tomb was erected there which was excavated and described by Soteriadis.[4] (Fig. 7). At that precise moment burials inside kurgan IV cease. The royal family or families are now buried in the tholos-tomb. It is interesting to note that in the dromos of this tholos-tomb two of the king's horses were traditionally buried; and, from Soteriadis' descriptions, it becomes clear that the cult of the dead continued inside the tholos down to the classical period. We have here perhaps the most splendid archaeological proof that the succession of periods, of burial customs and of continuity of cult run without any interruption. Tales and traditions connected with the battle of Marathon have their roots perhaps in these very burials of the past.

It seems clear that, inevitably, the people from the MH period onwards, down to the Mycenaean and to the Classical periods were racially the same.

It should be added that most interesting parallels to the kurgans in Greek soil have been found in Albania. They were studied by Frano Prendi and ofther Albanian colleagues. One of them seems to be doublie as the tumulus I of Marathon. However, as far as I can see, there is no proof, at least in the case of Marathon, that the inner and minor stone circle is the oldest.[5]

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4) PRACTICA OF THE ARCH. SOCIETY (in Greek) 1933 and elsewhere (all reports are summary).

5) See about this double Albanian tumulus N. Hammond, Ancient Macedonia (Firts Intern. Suposium 1970) p. 58 f. and fig. 7 in p, 62.

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